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PROLEGOMENA TO LAMAIST POLITY

BY

NIRMAL CHANDRA SINHA

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FIRMA K. L. MUKHOPADHYAY
CALCUTTA 12 INDIA
1969

SRI D. R. REGMI MA, MLitt, PhD, D Litt

To mark his visit to Namgyal Institute
of Tibetology
With personal regards
Nirmal Bhika.

23. 3. 71

PROLEGOMENA TO LAMAIST POLITY

In Tibet Buddhist monks had the same rights as the laymen to be appointed state officials, both military and civil.

Nanking 1369

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Foreword

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HUGH RICHARDSON

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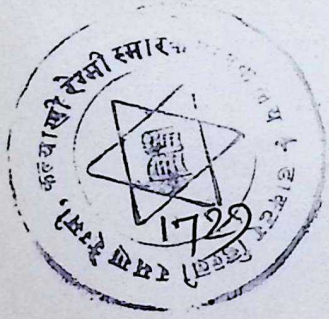

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FOREWORD

The Tibetan mind cannot fail to be permeated by consciousness of the debt it owes to India as the home of the Buddha and the fountain-head of his teachings. One of the most remarkable expressions of Tibetan civilization and intellectual powers is the adaptation of the Tibetan language to a precise and generally lucid translation from Sanskrit of the canonical works of Buddhism. The surprising volume of such translations is evidence of Tibetan devotion and industry.

Although the early propagation of the faith in Tibet during the seventh to ninth centuries saw something of a doctrinal tug-of-war between Indian and Chinese teachers, the glories of the Holy Land—'Phags Yul — which had already produced such famous figures as Padmasambhava, Santarakshita and Kamalasila, rose, not much later, beyond all challenge through the influence of the famous Buddhist universities of North India such as Nalanda and Vikramasila and were crowned by the visit to Tibet in the middle of the eleventh century, of the great Indian pandit Atisa.

Much more recently, when Tibet became known to the western world, Church and State were seen to be almost one and the same thing. The administration was effectively controlled by monks; and political affairs were viewed first and foremost in the light of their bearing on the well-being of religion. That state of affairs was not perfected by the Tibetan hierarchy until the seventeenth century but the right to such

a consummation was long implicit in religious terminology and in popular axioms; and there was authority for it in the translations by Tibetan scholars of Indian works relating to the religious aspects of statecraft.

It is that philosophical — and popular — theoretical foundation for the view of the Church's right to rule also in worldly affairs with which Mr. Nirmal Sinha deals principally in this short study. His examination, in this light , of the chain of thought from the formula of Refuge, through the active role of the Protective Bodhisattva, to the conjunction of religious and political functions in the union of Chhos and Srid is illustrated and substantiated by a wealth of references to Sanskrit and Tibetan canonical texts and to Mongolian and Chinese usage as well.

Mr. Sinha is eminently qualified to expound the interrelation, and also the difference, between Indian and Tibetan thinking. He is deeply read in Indian history and in the classics of both Hinduism and Buddhism. In addition, he has for some years been surrounded in his daily life, his thought and his work by the living practice of Tibetan Buddhism in Sikkim and he has had the opportunity of discussion with learned Lamas now in exile in India. He also saw the world of Tibetan religion in its homeland not, it is true, in its happiest times but in times far happier than the desolation that now afflicts it. With friendly generosity he has given me the privilege of introducing his "Prolegomena" which I welcome in the certainty that the stimulating ideas to be found there will make his readers hope for the presentation before too long of his examination in detail of the ways in which theory was put into practice in the Lama Polity.

HUGH RICHARDSON

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Eleven years ago the Founder-President of the Namgyal Institute of Tibetology appointed me to this programme in Sikkim. For me these eleven years have been a happy period of employment as well as education. A portion of the knowledge thus acquired goes into this book and my first acknowledgements are to the Founder-President, Miwang Palden Thondup Namgyal, Chogyal of Sikkim.

Three officials of the Government of India: Mr. Apa B. Pant, Mr. Triloki Nath Kaul and Dr. A.M.D'Rozario have been most kind in providing facilities of study in a field not much appreciated in India. I am indeed grateful to them.

My acknowledgements for this book are due to my colleagues Khenpo Lhodo Zangpo and Mynak Rikhu Tulku Rimpoche who fagged with me for the Tibetan literary data. Mr. S. G. Raghu, Hony. Secretary, Institute of Asian Studies: Hyderabad, read the manuscript and suggested several improvements in the style of a book which treads over two distinct disciplines, religion and political science.

Mr. Tamding Tsewang Bhutia rendered all advice and aid in the layout and production of a book which runs in three scripts; its prompt production owes also to Mr. P. T. Gyamtso. My colleague Mr. Bhaja Govinda Ghosh read the proofs and checked all Sanskrit and Pali references.

For the extracts quoted in extenso from Rhys Davids: *The Dialogues of the Buddha*, Rhys Davids: *The Questions of*

King Milinda and Narada Mahathera: *Dhammapada*, I have the respective permission from: Madam I.B. Horner, President, Pali Text Society; the Secretary to the Delegates, Clarendon Press; and Ven. Mahathera Jinaratna, General Secretary, Mahabodhi Society of India. I am deeply indebted to them. I have also to acknowledge that a substantial portion of this book was first published in *Bulletin of Tibetology* (Gangtok) and *Man in India* (Ranchi).

Mr. Hugh Edward Richardson has honoured the book with a Foreword. I approached this scholar not simply because he is the leading English-speaking specialist on Tibet. Besides being an epigraphist and a historian of Tibet, Mr. Richardson has the rare distinction of possessing a deep on-the-spot knowledge of the traditions and customs of Tibet and of her neighbours: India and China. Speaking several languages, he has lived for twenty years over places in India, Tibet and China. I prize his opinion because he does not speak from a bookish knowledge only.

My sons — Ajoy, Atish and Alok — overcome my laziness and diffidence about reducing my notes into print and thus materially contribute to my work. Professor Nalinaksha Dutt, the leading authority on Buddhism, Professor Franz Michael, the well-known Sinologist and Athing Libing Sonam Tobden, whose sudden demise last month has removed an esteemed friend, have been all through patient with my explorations into the mundane aspects of Northern Buddhism. I am also grateful to Mr. Dorji Dahdul, Chief Secretary, Government of Sikkim and Mr. Sherab Gyaltshen, Establishment & Ecclesiastical Secretary, Government of Sikkim for the care and interest they have consistently evinced in my work.

I have remarked above on the indifference in India to Inner Asian studies. It is thus fair to mention several exceptions in my notice. Mr. Satyendra Narayan Agrawal, Treasurer: Bhagalpur University, Mr. Mriganka Mauli Basu, Vice-President: Asiatic Society, Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose, the anthropologist and Professor Narendra Krishna Sinha, the historian have ever urged me to write amply on the subject

of Inner Asia. My scanty writing is no doubt a testimony to my abilities and is no measure of the subject. Two Elder Statesmen, Hon. Sri Prakasa and Hon.Mohan Singh Mehta, with their appreciation of my previous publication, have given me much encouragement. My respects to them.

None of the persons mentioned here is in any way responsible for the facts and views presented in the book. The two Lamas and Professor Dutt have in fact not been able to approve much of my unorthodox reading of Buddhism. The several officials included in these acknowledgements have approved my programme of research but have declined to comment on my findings.

Thanksgiving (Thugs-rje-chhe) is the core of Tibetan way of life. I inscribe Thugs-rje-chhe with this tract for all who have helped me, and many I have not mentioned.

Namgyal Institute of Tibetology
Gangtok, Sikkim
28 June 1969

NIRMAL C. SINHA

THE SUBJECT

Scholars on Tibet and Tibetan speaking countries have generally concerned themselves with Chhos (religion) and a good number have specialized in linguistics. Only a few like Luciano Petech and Hugh Richardson have made contributions to the political history of Tibet. But no historical study of the doctrine of government in traditional Tibet has so far been made. A couple of sociological works sponsored in the universities of U.S.A. have sought to interpret Lamaism on analytical method. These works however ignore altogether the ideological background of Lamaist Polity. Presentation of the theory or theories behind Lamaist government thus remains a desideratum.

This author has no claims to be called a Tibetologist. As a student of Inner Asian history, he has ventured to enquire into (i) the basis of political obligation, and (ii) the title to reign, in the Lamaist State. He has avoided the straight-jacket of modern analysis which ignores the elements of time and place and thus goes against the canons of objective history. The author has no interest in the exaltation of Lamaism or in its denigration and is conscious that while much of what he writes may displease the believers, much may disappoint the critics of Lamaism. Nor would he claim exhaustiveness or finality for what he presents here. While he flatters himself that this study is the first such attempt, he submits the validity of his findings to the judgement of specialist scholars and interested critics.

This study concerns political science and government but has to draw upon scriptures and canonical literature as necessary data for the specific purpose. The author has however endeavoured to present his data and findings as for a history of political thought; the main text is not burdened with data in original media (Sanskrit and Tibetan) and should thus attract the political scientist who does not read Sanskrit and Tibetan. An introductory glossary is provided for such reader. Diacritical marks are used only in the introductory glossary; otherwise a standard form of transcription is followed. While this will make for easy reading for the specialist in political science, the Tibetologist will find in the Notes the passages in Sanskrit and Tibetan in respective characters. Between Sanskrit and Pali the author has generally preferred the Sanskrit form for the simple reason that Buddhism reached the Trans-Himalayas in Sanskrit medium. Wherever English rendering of a passage in Sanskrit or Pali is available use is made of such. This ensures that the author does not make any convenient meaning in presenting the data from the original scriptures. For the same reason the three items in the Appendix are from translations by scholars who subscribed to Buddhism. For Tibetan data the author is as much responsible for the translation as for the interpretation. Having no knowledge of Chinese and Mongol the author depends entirely on translations by competent scholars, and has not therefore quoted the Mongol or Chinese passages in original. All dates are in Christian era.

This book represents a third of the project on Lamaist Polity. The project covers origins and development, institutions and characteristics of Lamaist state. The question of comparison with the practice in Southern Buddhist (Theravada) countries arises only when an adequate account of Lamaist Polity is available. The author does not admit the relevance of seeking similarities and parallels from medieval Europe and has therefore desisted from inflating the Notes with excerpts from celebrated ecclesiastics and theologians like St. Augustine, John of Salisbury or St. Thomas Aquinas. Comparative Religion like Comparative Politics is a delicate instrument which the author cannot use about Buddhist and

Christian traditions. He subscribes to the thesis of the eminent Swiss scholar, Jacques-Albert Cuttat, that there are "many summits" spread over "two religious hemispheres of mankind" and "two irreductibly different subjects" notwithstanding "a common consciousness of the Sacred". The author has attempted to express the political mind of Buddhist Tibet in a modern Western language and feels that the contents here reflect correctly the idiom and imagery of Buddhist Tibet.

While he traces the theory of priest-kings in the Buddhist canon as translated and expounded in Tibet, the author does not contend that the ideas in the Indian sources shaped the course of history in Tibet. Political events in Tibet, as elsewhere, were no doubt the reflex of socio-economic forces: the fall of ancient regime and the rise of new order was a historical norm. The new order being a monastic regime would naturally seek sanction in the scriptures. Character and content of that sanction are examined in the following pages.

The historic Lamaist state of Tibet, which ended with the 17-point Sino-Tibetan Agreement of May 1951, had come into a concrete form three centuries ago. The priests and monks responsible for this regime belonged to the Yellow Sect (Dge-lugs-pa/Gelukpa). There was an earlier monastic regime in the thirteenth century with the abbots of Sakya and Karma Sects. This study about theoretical background notices more the preparatory stages and less the culminating events towards the middle of the seventeenth century.

KEY WORDS

This select list is intended for a reader not conversant with Buddhist terminology and does not include all Sanskrit/ Tibetan terms in the book. Entries are in Sanskrit. Tibetan equivalents are at the end; transcription as well as pronunciation being shown thus Bla-ma/Lama.

A Sanskrit word has multiple and varied content; so is Tibetan. Only those senses are given as are called for here. But no new meaning is coined. No meaning goes against accepted usage as will be found in standard works; Monier-Williams, Radhakanta Deb, Macdonell, Apte and Edgerton for Sanskrit and *Mahavyutpatti*, *Prajna*, Jaschke, Saratchandra Das and Geshe Choda for Tibetan.

Avalokiteśvara a deity whose Compassion is Refuge of all in distress. (Spyan-ras-gzigs/Chen-re-sik)

Buddha wise; awakened; enlightened; Gautama Siddhartha, the founder of Buddhism; an Enlightened Being (historical or legendary). (Sangs-rgyas/Sang-gye)

Bodhisattva person striving or destined for enlightenment; person postponing his own emancipation to aid others to the same goal; such person often recognized as the incarnation of an Enlightened Being (historical or or legendary); saviour. (Byang-chhub-sems -dpah/Chang-chhub-sem-pa)

Brāhmaṇa	one possessing divine knowledge; class of teachers and priests; highest caste in Bramanical (Hindu) order; holyman in Buddhist usage. (Bram-ze/Dam-ze)
Chakra	wheel (as of a chariot); missile (discus); army; sanction; sovereignty; cycle of existence; cycle of existence set in motion by Buddha i.e. according to Dharma. (Hkhor lo/Khor-lo)
Chakravartī	king whose Chakra rolls without obstruction; universal sovereign; the Buddha who weilded a Chakra intended to overcome all evil. (Hkhor-lo-bsgyur/Khor-lo-gyur)
Dharma	norm; truth; law; religion; religion founded by Buddha. (Chhos/Chho)
Dharma-chakra	Wheel (Chakra) of Law (Dharma) set in motion by Buddha. (Chhos-kyi-hkhor-lo/Chho-ki-khor-lo)
Dharma-rājā	an epithet of Buddha; King of Doctrine; Master of Law; righteous king; a king who is head of the church; a head of the church who is head of the state. (Chhos-rgyal/Chho-gyal)
Gaṇa	flock; multitude; tribe; class; assembly; association. (Tshogs/Tshok)
Guru	superior; master; teacher. (Bla-ma/Lama)
Jarā-maraṇa	sufferings: old age and death. (Rga-shi/Ga-shi)
Jāti-varṇa	distinctions of class and caste.
Jāti	birth;race; lineage; hereditary class; caste. (Skye-ba/Kye-ba)

Karma	action; deeds and results. (Las/Le)
Kshatriya	class of warriors and rulers; governing caste; second caste in Brahmanical (Hindu) order. (Rgyal-rigs/Gyal-rig)
Manjuśrī	a deity weilding Sword of Wisdom. (Hjam dpal/Jam-pel)
Nirmāṇakāya	transformed body (of Buddha or Bodhisattva); incarnation. (Sprul-sku/Tul-ku)
Nirvāṇa	extinction; release; Emancipation. (Mya-ngan-hdas/Nya-ngen-des)
Ratna	jewel; priceless object e.g. Buddha, Dharma Sangha. (Rin-chhen/Rin-chhen)
Samsāra	flux e.g. the phenomenal world; round of re-births; mundane existence; temporal matters. (Hkhor-ba/Khor-ba; Hjig-rten/Jig-ten; Srid-pa/Si-pa; Srid/Si)
Sangha	community; corporation; monastic order founded by Buddha. (Dge-hdun/Gen-dun)
Śaraṇa	refuge; protection. (Skyabs/Kyab)
Śāsana	command (e.g. of state); teaching (e.g. of Buddha); order (spiritual or temporal). (Bkah/Ka)
Śāstā	ruler; teacher (e.g. Buddha). (Ston-pa/Ton-pa)
Śūdra	class of serfs and manual workers; lowest caste in Brahmanical (Hindu) order. (Dmangs-rigs/Mang-rig)
Tri-ratna	Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. (Dkon-mchhog-gsum/Kon-chho-sum)

Vaiśya	class of farmers and traders; third caste in Brahmanical (Hindu) order. (Rjehu-rigs/Je-hu-rig)
Varṇa	colour (e.g. of skin); race (distinguished by skin); occupational group; caste. (Rigs/Rig)

THE REFUGE: INDIA, TIBET & MONGOLIA

I

I take refuge in the Buddha

I take refuge in the Dharma

I take refuge in the Sangha

The Triratna constitutes the Bauddha Dharma (1). One who takes refuge in the Three Jewels is a Bauddha: one who does not is not a Bauddha.

Authentic autographic evidence of Asoka being a Buddhist—in denominational sense—is borne by the single reference to the Three Jewels in Bairat Edict (Asiatic Society, Calcutta) and not from the multiple epigraphs recording Asoka's exhortation for observance of the Dharma. Asoka affirms thus to the Sangha "You know, Sirs, how deep is my veneration for and faith in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha" (2).

Before its final victory in Tibet towards the end of the 8th century Buddhism had several encounters with Bon. Firm evidence of Buddhism as state religion in Tibet can be traced from about 820 for the good reason that the Three Jewels were invoked as witnesses in the famous treaty (821/822) between Tibet and China (3). The Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon *Mahavyutpatti*, a work of the 9th century, shows full familiarity with the concepts of Three Jewels and Refuge.

Centuries before the formation of the Yellow (Gelug) sect, the older Sects (Karma and Sakya) are known to have preached among the Mongols, Kalmuks and Buriats. That this early propagation was not superficial can be established from names and titles drawing upon Buddhist vocabulary; several names translated Three Jewels and Protection under Jewels (4). Contemporary epigraphic evidence speaks of the images of Three Jewels and invokes the blessings of Three Jewels (5). Sanskrit form Ratna itself became popular as Erdeni (Erteni)—'r' sound without a vowel prefix being impossible in Mongol speech.

II

The concept of refuge (Skt. Sarana)—Isvara/Purusha as refuge—was already in Indian thought before Gautama Buddha. The element of submission or surrender sublimated into faith (Skt. Sraddha) or devotion (Skt.Bhakti) found later its historic exposition in the *Bhagavadgita* (composed "not more than a few centuries before our era" acc. Edgerton; 5th century B.C. acc. Radhakrishnan). In chapter IX: verse 18 Krishna (God's incarnation on earth) describes himself as the abode and the refuge. In the concluding chapter (XVIII, v.66) Krishna enjoins Arjuna thus "Fly to Me alone! Make Me thy single refuge!" (Edwin Arnold's tran. in verse). The origins of the Bhakti cult itself are however traced back to centuries before the Buddha(6).

It will be wrong to say that the Buddhist concept of refuge was identical with the Brahmanical. The Brahamanical notion of Isvara/Purusha was rejected by Buddhism. The Buddhist doctrine of Karma did not admit the merits of Varna (caste) and the Buddhist formula of Pratityasamutpada (Interdependent Causation) was more omnipotent than Isvara/Purusha. There was thus no question of refuge in an abode of grace for a Buddhist.

An exposition of the philosophy of Buddhist refuge to be in any way satisfactory will need considerable space and cannot be conveniently accommodated in this paper (7). It is

however necessary and relevant to emphasize here that without a feeling of submission or surrender one cannot seek refuge. A determined quest for refuge will no doubt demand a determined faith in the quest.

There is a view that the Buddha's own teachings being based on reason and being not focussed on any supernatural agency or divine instrument, the Sraddha (Pali. Saddha) of Buddhist vocabulary may not be called reverential faith and much less absolute faith. The context of Buddhist fundamentals will no doubt rule out faith divorced from reason and the Theravada profession, as Jayatilleke's brilliant arguments suggest, perhaps upholds this ideal (8). Yet it is a fair question that how many in the Sangha—besides a few scholarly monks and priests—can strive for salvation with reason as the only ritual. The arrogance of reason can kill the humility of the seeker and not kindle his spirit. In reality a seeker exercises his head to choose a way and once on the way he exercises his heart. As Nalinaksha Dutt said in 1930 "Be it Hinayana or Mahayana Sraddha is at the basis of all practices" (9). The present writer would underline the word "practices" as practices more than theories provide the field for his investigations.

The practice of seeking refuge, for example, has been inspired for 2500 years more by reverential faith than by cold reason. Tagore pointed out at the beginning of this century that Buddhism had a hard core of metaphysics in it but its universality was due to its humanism: Karuna, Maitri and and Hridayaprasara and not because of the excellence of its metaphysics(10). Refuge is sought in promising quarters. The Three Jewels hold the promise of Love and Friendliness and naturally evoke in the seeker Reverence and Faith. No *cultus intellectualis* was involved when in the historic past nearly half of Asia went for refuge (Skt. Saranagamana/Tib. Skyabs-hgro). Hundreds in the West today seek this refuge with Sraddha because of their emotional response to the promise of Love and Friendliness and most of these Westerners have yet to read the Abhidharma.

III

The sequence of the Three Jewels follows the chronological sequence of the emergence of the Three. While Enlightenment (Skt. Bodhi/Tib. Byang-chub) witnessed an almost simultaneous origination of the Buddha and the Dharma, the Sangha was certainly a later phenomenon in terms of history. Many believers would however consider that the Three Jewels were from the first inseparable. As Christmas Humphreys puts it "the organization of the Sangha in the Buddha's lifetime was not the mere child of necessity. The Triratna was clearly conceived as a unit, for the Buddha said in terms that after his passing the Dharma was to be the disciples' Teacher, and the Sangha was founded as a missionary enterprise within a few weeks of the Enlightenment"(11).

While history does not subscribe to the doctrine of an interdependent simultaneous origination of the Three, history records that the Sangha was as important as the Dharma at the time of Nirvana. "It is chiefly to this institution (i.e. Sangha) that the permanence of his (i.e. Buddha's) religion is due"(12). "The continuity of the monastic organisation has been the only constant factor in Buddhist history"(13).

The *Dhammapada*, a faithful embodiment of the Buddha's teaching and perhaps containing many of the Buddha's own words, has these five verses on refuge(14)—

"Men driven by fear go to many a refuge, to mountains, and to forests, to sacred trees, and shrines.

"That, verily, is not a safe refuge, that is not the best refuge. After having got to that refuge a man is not delivered from all pains.

"But he who takes refuge in the Buddha, the Law, and the Order, he perceives, in his clear wisdom, the four noble truths.

"Suffering, the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering, and the noble eighfold path which leads to the cessation of suffering.

"That, verily, is a safe refuge, that is the best refuge; after having got to that refuge a man is delivered from all pains. (tr. Radhakrishnan).

The objective is freedom from all fears and all pains: the cessation of all suffering in the prese nt and in the future. The prescribed refuge became a categorical imperative for deliverance from all evils. Like the belief in Karma or the acceptance of the Pratityasamutpada, the refuge in the Triratna was a matter of faith. In congregational worship a spirit of conformity is generated. This spirit endows the categorical imperative with faith for one and all: faith of the individual is but a reflection of the faith of the community and vice versa. While the Buddha (after Nirvana) and the Dharma were transcendental and intangible objects, the Sangha was immanent and tangible and the refuge in the Sangha evoked faith par excellence. The Sangha under favourable circumstances could be the "single refuge" in matters spiritual as well as temporal. The Sangha had a mission "for the profit of the many, for the bliss of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the welfare, the profit, the bliss of *devas* and mankind."

IV

The designation SANGHA was truly prophetic. It recalled a past and promised a future. Panini (c.600 B.C., that is, sometime before the Buddha) considered Sangha as synonymous with Gana (an old Vedic term meaning a group, a company or a corporate body with a definite object). By the Buddha's time Sangha had become an omnibus word which could mean a craft-guild, a body of (tribal) mercenaries, a group of mendicians or recluses, or even a tribal state (oligarchic/republican).

The Buddha framed for his Sangha elaborate organizational rules which made it a historic force in India and Asia. These rules (Vinaya: Pratimoksha) avoided the orthodox heritage (Varnasrama) and drew upon the practices of the Sakyas, Vajjis and the Mallas (15). Suffering humanity re-

leased from the disabilities and discriminations based on birth could have no better refuge than the Sangha which battled against JATI-VARNA and JARA-MARANA.

Centuries later, Asanga expounded that the Sangha being the highest of all Ganas was the appropriate refuge. The Sangha was no longer a category needing Panini's aphorism; unless repugnant to the context the term Sangha would mean the Gana founded by the Buddha. A millennium stood between Panini and Asanga. The millennium witnessed the rise and fall of dynasties and empires, foreign invasions and advent of new races, rebellions against the old sacrifices and old gods, and the rise of new schools of metaphysics and epistemology; in the second half of this millennium the Dharma moved in two separate Vehicles but the Sangha in either Vehicle accommodated members of the other and professed the same Vinaya (16). The monastic organization, to quote Conze again, has been the only constant factor in Buddhist history (17).

Asoka was fully seized of the role of the Sangha and therefore strove much to prevent split or schism. The schism eventually occurred. But the Sangha was a most active force for another thousand years, and out of its native land made history from the sunny islands in the Indian Ocean to the freezing steppes in Siberia. While Asoka's name was almost forgotten in his own country, the chronicles of Ceylon and Burma or of Tibet and Mongolia ranked Asoka higher than their national heroes. Much is said about Asoka having contributed to the spread of the Dharma. It is however not clear whether Asoka could have succeeded without an instrument as the Third Jewel.

Asoka himself had no doubt that the Sangha was greater than Devanampriya Priyadarsiraja Asoka. The epithet "Beloved of the Gods" is thought by many as an approximation to Divine Right, a concept not yet grown in Indic polity. Asoka's description of his subjects "All men are my children" (Kalinga Rock Edict) is interpreted as a mark of paternal despotism. In the famous Bairat Edict, meant for the Sangha,

Asoka describes himself simply as Raja Priyadarsi of Magadha, salutes the Sangha and addresses the members of the Sangha with the honorific Bhanta/Bhadanta (18). The Bairat Edict was not a proclamation to the Church from its Imperial Protector: it was an advice from one who had taken refuge in the Church.

Asoka fixed the precedence and protocol. Even today in any orthodox Buddhist community from the sunny south to the freezing north the highest laity takes precedence after the junior most monks. Refuge in the Sangha requires submission without reservation.

V

The concept of refuge was deeper and wider in Mahayana than in the other school. The lesson of Prajnaparamita was that even if the Nirvana was unreal in the sense that it was incomprehensible, endeavour for liberation from suffering was compulsive or inevitable: aware of the unreality of all phenomena a believer was to strive for the enlightenment of all beings. Liberation must be universal or total. Even if a tiny brute was left unredeemed the Nirvana of the rest would be spoiled with the suffering of that tiny one. One who realized this truth and worked for all was the Bodhisattva (19). The promise of universal salvation evoked a deeper response in Mahayana.

Sraddha in Mahayana was not unlike that in the contemporary Brahmanical movement called Bhagavata or Bhakti. Even the term Bhakti as understood in Brahmanism would be appropriate to describe devotionalism in Mahayana. It is not within the scope of the present enquiry to notice which religion or which school originated Bhakti (20). It is however material to note that the Buddha cult that is, the doctrine of past, present and future Buddhas and the cult of faith in saviours were the dominant and interlinked features of Indian milieu during the Kushana times, the times which witnessed the spread of Buddhism all over Central Asia. The refuge in Triratna did not longer proceed out of intellectual comprehension (Pali. Panna/Skt. Prajna). The refuge

trod the path of love and devotion to the Buddha who had discarded his material riches to save the suffering lives and to the Bodhisattvas who renounded their rights to Nirvana to lead the others to the same goal. Radhakrishnan considers the Anusmriti (constant remembrance or awareness) of Mahayana to be the same as the Bhakti of Bhagavata or the Isvarapranidhana of Yogasutra (21).

Santideva, the scholar-saint of 8th century, expressed the depths and forms of devotional Buddhism. His two works *Sikshasamuchchaya* and *Bodhicharyavatara* are fortunately available in both original (Sanskrit) and translation (Tibetan). A chapter in *Sikshasamuchchaya* is devoted to Remembrance of Three Jewels. Here the author discusses individually the Buddha, the Dharma and the Sangha as objects of remembrance but concludes, taking more than half the space of the whole chapter for this purpose, with the virtues of the Boddhisattvas(22). In *Bodhicharyavatara* the devotee bows not only to the Buddha (past-present-future), the Dharma and the Ganottama (the best of Ganas i.e. Sangha) but also to the Bodhisattva-resorts and Chaityas and the Upadhyayas (preceptors) and Yatis (ascetics). Then the devotee takes refuge in the Buddha, the Dharma and the Bodhisattvagana (the Gana of the Bodhisattvas i.e. Sangha) (23). The accent on Bodhisattvas is obvious and significant. The best of Ganas is the Gana of Bodhisattvas. The Bodhisattvagana was the dearest Jewel; nearer and more tangible than the other two; dearer than the other two because it was the assembly of saviours.

The refuge was now not a purely doctrinal matter. The imagery of the believers demanded and created iconic forms for the Three Jewels. Three points, three prongs or triangle (Skt. Trikona/Tib. Zur-gsum) could not satisfy the aesthetic yearnings of the believers (24) and finally a set of three anthropomorphic forms emerged. The Buddha was depicted as Sakyamuni in earth-touching posture, the Dharma as goddess Prajnaparamita with four hands and the Sangha as Avalokitesvara with four hands (25). As Prajnaparamita expressed the quintessence of the Dharma, Avalokitesvara expressed the compassion of the Sangha (26). Elaborate

rituals for the adoration of the Three Jewels were as ancient as the Mahayana. *Bodhisattvabhumi* of Asanga has a chapter on Puja-seva-apramana of which the first and foremost section is Ratnapuja (27). Ratnapuja and/or Saranagamana in one one form or other continued and found conspicious expression in Vajrayana. The Sadhanas of medieval Tantra abound in references to the Triple Refuge (28). Vajratarasadhana of Ratnakarasanti (Atisa's teacher) has the refuge formula (29) in which the Buddha is described as the Highest of Men (following Asanga's diction), the Dharma as Mahayana (stating the dominance of Mahayana visavis Hinayana in India) and the Sangha as Avaivartikabodhisattvagana (claiming that the Sangha was an organization of infalliable altruists). The words within brackets are our comments; as "infallible' represents the spirit of the word 'avaivartika' it is not necessary to probe into the etymology or history of this word here (30).

By the thirteenth century Buddhism came to an end in the plains of India. The founder, Gautama Buddha, was absorbed into Brahamanical pantheon. The doctrine, Dharma, was remembered as a futile rebellion though considerable parts of of its philosophy were conveniently added to the corpus of Brahmanical learning and its adoration (Dharmapuja) was combined with a pre-Vedic ritual. The Sangha, the true arm of the Dharma and the real enemy of traditionalism, died for ever in the plains of India(31).

VI

The Triratna migrated to the Trans-Himalayas and found refuge upto the Siberian steppes. The Sangha played the leading role in this migration.

The Saranagamana (Tib. Skyabs-hgro) as recorded in Nikaya, Avadana, Vinaya and Mahayana Sutras or as expounded by Asanga and Atisa was duly translated for incorporation into Tibetan canon; these need no citation here. In Tibetan understanding, however, the Sangha appeared as the leading Jewel. This was natural as the Sangha was the instrument of propagation of the Dharma as of confrontation with the indi-

geneous religion. Till the arrival of Santarakshita (popular as Khempo Bodhisattva in Tibet) and Padmasambhava (popular as Guru Rimpoche in Tibet) the Sangha was composed of Indian monks and priests; as history bears out they were men of character, learning and determination and individually made a deep impression thus contributing to the stock of the Sangha. The Bodhisattva doctrine of collectivist striving for salvation struck a responsive chord in the Tibetan mind (32) and the Sangha as Bodhisattva Gana stimulated loyalty even when it was a body consisting of foreigners only. Besides the medium of preceptor being indispensable in the esoteric Vajra cult, the Sangha developed as the dominant Jewel. This fact finds reflection in Tibetan exposition on refuge.

For representative Tibetan expositions one, whether a student of religion or a student of history, has to look into compositions made between c.1050 and 1150. This period began with the emergence of Buddhism as the national religion and witnessed the rise of several monasteries whose corridors became corridors of power (33).

Atisa came to Tibet in 1042 and preached for twelve years till his death. His disciples Hbroms-ton and others recorded his sermons as the Word of the Spiritual Father (Bkah-gdams-pha-chhos) and supplemented with their own comments entitled the Word of the Spiritual Son (Bkah-gdams-bu-chhos). The Word of the Father has many passages extolling the imperative need of refuge in the Three Jewels. The conspicuity of the Lama (Guru) in these passages holds the attention of a student of history. "The Guru is the Buddha, the Guru is the Dharma and the Guru is the Sangha". Therefore, "I take refuge in the Guru: I take refuge in the Buddha: I take refuge in the Dharma: I take refuge in the Sangha" (34). The Word of the Son continues this, describes the Guru as the excellent refuge and hails the Sangha as the leader (hdrenpa/Skt. nayaka) (35).

Another exposition of the Triple Refuge is in Sgampopa (1079-1153)'s Jewel Ornament of Liberation. Rooted deeply in Indian tradition and drawing profusely on Indian sources,

this treatise is an exposition—for laity as well as clergy—of the real meaning, that is, the spiritual meaning of refuge. Yet words and comments about the ordinary mind's reaction are significant. "Ordinary persons frightened by the misery of Samsara hold the Three Jewel to be gods." "Ordinary mind takes refuge because it cannot bear its individual misery". Though "the Buddha is the ultimate refuge, the ordinary mind takes refuge in Bodhisattvas (Sangha) as the most excellent refuge" (36).

It is thus not surprising that in the next century the presiding abbot of a powerful monastery would be addressed as Skyabs-mgon (Lord of Refuge). Tradition in Sakya as well as Kargyu (Karma) Sects traces such usage back to the thirteenth century. Later the Gelugpa found this a convenient usage and sanctified it officially (37).

VII

The Gelugpa propagation in Mongolia (1500-1700) not only disseminated the merits of refuge in the Triratna but also the indispensability of the Lama. Following passages from *Erdeni-yin-Tobci*, composed in 1662, echo the response of the Mongol nobility (38).

As for these three sublime and rare jewels,
Combined thus into one (in the person of) one's benevolent Lama (chaplain),

Although one seek a refuge other than that one,
On account of its being very difficult to find, (it is apparent that)

This refuge, one's benevolent Lama's
Clearly-perceiving thought (is) the many Buddhas;
The commandments to be voiced exclusively (are) Sublime Doctrines;
Obviously, the material body (is) the Holy Clergy.

Until one find true *bodhi*- sanctity by this,
One should rely completely on this meritorious teacher.

(trans. Krueger)

This veneration for the Lama as also for the Holy Clergy was not an altogether Gelugpa achievement and perhaps went back to the thirteenth century when the Sakya Lamas were chaplains of the Imperial Mongol (Yuan) Dynasty. The Mongol chronicles of the seventeenth century played down the Sakya and Karma propagation of the earlier times. Even then evidence is forthcoming. A period which produced the Mongol versions of *Pancharaksha*, *Suvarnaprabhasa* or *Lalitavistara* (39) could not be ignorant of the merits of Triratna. Unimpeachable epigraphic data not only speak of the veneration for the Three Jewels but also of the use of their images (40). Among the popular names of pre-Gelugpa times were these: Protected by the Buddha, Slave of the Three Jewels and Slave of the Sangha (41).

VIII

The refuge formula universally accepted, from the Himalayas to the Altais and from the Kokonor to the Baikal, was

I take refuge in the Lama (Guru)

I take refuge in the Sangye (Buddha)

I take refuge in the Chho (Dharma)

I take refuge in the Gendun (Sangha)

NOTES

1. Hermann Oldenberg's celebrated work *Buddha* (Berlin 1881/1922) had the subtitle 'His Life, His Doctrine and His Community'. Bhikshu Sangharakshita's 'introduction to Buddhism' has the title *The Three Jewels* (London 1967). All later developments of Buddhism stuck to the concept of Triratna. The Tantra was based on Ratna; vide Lama Anagarika Govinda: *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* (London 1959), Part Two entitled Mani. Even the Zen (variously described as scientific Buddhism, free Budhism etc.) affirms refuge in the Three Jewels; vide Philip Kapleau: *The Three Pillars of Zen* (Tokyo 1965), pp. 198, 347-8.

2. For the original text see Note 18 infra.

3. དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་དང་། འཕགས་པའི་རྣམས་དང་གཏི་ཀུ་
ཀཱ་ཟླར་ལ་ཡང་དཔང་དུ་གསོལ་ཏེ། ।

The document as read by Hugh Richardson is reproduced in *Ancient Historical Edicts at Lhasa* (Royal Asiatic Society London 1952), pp. 66-69.

The Samye pillar-inscription, which Giuseppe Tucci accepts as that of Khri-srong-lde-btsan himself, speaks of
དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་གྱི་རྟེན་བཙུགས་པ་དང་། ས་ངས་ཀྱས་ཀྱི་ཆོས།

The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings (Rome 1950), p.94. The Karchung inscription, attributed to Khri-lde-srong-btsan, descri-

bing the truimph of Buddhism over Bon abounds with དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ། Ibid, pp. 104-8.

Whatever may be the exact dates of these two epigraphs, the evidence of state (or public) adoration of the Three Jewels in the first quarter of the ninth century is writ large here.

4. Henry Serruys: Early Lamaism in Mongolia in *Oriens Extremus*, October 1963.

5. Nicholas Poppe: *The Mongolian Monuments in hPhagspa Script* (Wiesbaden 1957); vide the two metal plates illustrated, transcribed and translated on pp. 60-66.

6. Bhagavadgita, ch IX, v.18

गतिर्भर्ता प्रभुः साक्षी निवासः शरणं सुहृत् ।
प्रभवः प्रलयः स्थानं निधानं बीजमव्ययम् ॥

and ch XVIII, v.66

सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।
अहं त्वा सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥

Origins and history of the Bhakti cult have several theories and controversies. Vide R.G. Bhandarkar: *Vaishnavism Saivism and Other Minor Religious Systems* (Strassburg 1913; later reprints Poona etc.); H.C. Raychaudhuri: *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vsaishnava Sect* (Calcutta 1936); S.N. Das Gupta: *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol II (Cambridge 1932/1952); and Bhagavat Sastri: *The Bhakti Cult in Ancient India* (Calcutta 1924/Varanasi 1965). Har Dayal's theory, in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (London 1932), that Bhakti first originated in Buddhism and that Bhakti was an integral part of Buddhist ideal from the earliest times (p.32) does not convince historians and offends the Theravada scholars.

7. No attempt is made in this paper to present the doctrinal meaning since the theme of this paper is quite mundane, namely, how the popular mind reacted to the doctrine and its

impact in Samsara (mundane milieu). A short but authentic Mahayana exposition in English (six super octavo pages) is that of Marco Pallis: *Peaks and Lamas* (London 1939/1946), ch XVII; a mystic and a scholar Marco Pallis presents the cream from Gampopa and Tsongkhapa. Gampopa's treatise is now available in English translation with ample notes in Herbert Guenther: *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation* (London 1959).

8. K.N. Jayatilleke : *Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge* (London 1963), pp.383-400. From a purely textual point of view Jayatilleke is perfect. But perfection detached from reality has no bearing on present enquiry. It is not denied that "There has existed throughout Buddhist history a tension between the Bhaktic and the Gnostic approach to religion". Edward Conze: *Buddhism Its Essence and Development* (Oxford 1951/1953 etc), p.40. As Conze says "There are a few modern writers who make Buddhism quite rational by eliminating all metaphysics, reincarnation, all the gods and spirits, all miracles and supernatural powers. Theirs is not the Buddhism of the Buddhists". *Buddhists Thought in India* (London 1962), p.29,f.n.

9. Nalinaksha Dutt: *Aspects of Mahayana and its Relation to Hinayana* (London 1930), p.303; further developed in *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta), Vols 16 & 21. Dutt has perhaps overworked the word Sraddha in conjunction with Prasada; but his theory has support in Asoka's use of the term Prasada for faith (Bairat Edict). See Note 18 infra.

10. Vide the present writer's article "Rabindranath Tagore on Buddhism" contributed to the Tagore Centenary Number of *The Mahabodhi* (Calcutta) or *France-Asia* (Tokyo). It is needless to labour the point that Brahmanism, Confucianism or Zoroastrianism failed in Inner Asia not because of lack of metaphysical content.

11. Christmas Humphreys: *Buddhism* (Penguin 1962), p.132.

12. Charles Eliot: *Hinduism and Buddhism* (London 1921/1954), Vol I, p.237.

13. Conze: *Buddhism*, p.54.

14. *Dhammapada*: Buddhavagga 10-14

बहूं वे सरणं यन्ति, पब्बतानि वनानि च ।
आरामरुक्खचेत्यानि, मनुस्सा भयतज्जिता ॥
नेतं खो सरणं खेमं, नेतं सरणमुत्तमं ।
नेतं सरणमागम्म, सब्बदुक्खा पमुच्चति ॥
यो च बुद्धं च धम्मं च, सङ्घं च सरणं गतो ।
चत्तारि अरियसच्चानि, सम्मप्पञ्ञाय पस्सति ॥
दुक्खं दुक्खसमुप्पादं, दुक्खस्स च अतिक्कमं ।
अरियं चट्ठङ्गिकं मग्गं, दुक्खूपसमगामिनं ॥
एत खो सरणं खेमं, एतं सरणमुत्तमं ।
एतं सरणमागम्म, सब्बदुक्खा पमुच्चति ॥

15. For Sangha and Gana vide K.P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (Calcutta 1924/Bangalore 1943); D.R. Bhandarkar: *Carmichael Lectures* (Calcutta 1918-19) and *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity* (Benares 1925/1963); R.C. Majumdar: *Corporate Life in Ancient India* (Calcutta 1922); and Gokuldas De: *Democracy in Early Buddhist Sangha* (Calcutta 1956). On the question whether the Buddha derived the name as well as the organization from the political Sangha, see a balanced and erudite review in U.N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta 1965), pp.260-65. Marco Pallis, who finds it difficult to translate Sangha into any European idiom, has this comment: "The Indian word originally used, *Sangha*, means 'assembly' which is also the primitive meaning of the Greek *ekklesia*." *Peaks and Lamas*, p. 285 fn.

16. Nalinaksha Dutt: *Aspects of Mahayana* etc, p. vi (La Vallee Poussin) and chapter 5.

The present writer attended the Sixth World Fellowship of Buddhist Conference (Phnom Penh, November 1961) and must quote in this context what Prince Norodom Sihanouk (Head of the State of Kamboja) said in inaugurating this session: "Whether Buddhists of the Southern School or Buddhists of the Northern School, we all live in accordance with the same doctrine: the unity of thought and the search for truth by different but not divergent paths gives us a moral strength of which the world has few examples to offer".

It is relevant to quote the words with which the Crown Prince of Sikkim (now the Chogyal) reciprocated:

"The writings of Nargarjuna, Vasubandhu and other masters of Mahayana philosophy abound with references to this basic unity of the two Vehicles. The Tibetan canon bears evidence of the essential unity of the different Buddhist schools and sects.

"The anxiety for reconciliation between the schools is as ancient as the schism. The Saddharma Pundarika is an instance of this spirit.

"The Chinese pilgrims visiting India long ago noticed that the members of the two Vehicles resided together in a number of establishments. The monks of the two Vehicles lived in harmony, performing in unison ecclesiastical acts and complying with the same rules of discipline. Some European critics and their Asian disciples, oblivious of the great tradition of Tolerance and Love in the Sangha, attributed the findings of these pilgrims to confusion. There was no confusion certainly in the minds of the master scholars and sages reported by the pilgrims. Such tolerance or co-existence was reported also among Central Asian Buddhists. In the highest step towards Bodhi and Nirvana there could be no conflict."

Vide *France-Asie/Asia* (Tokyo), No.171 (Jan-Feb. 1962) for these two speeches.

17. Vide Note 13 supra.

18. The relevant words are: प्रियदसि लाजा मागधे सं अभिवादेतूनं आहा। अपाबाधतं च फासु–विहालतं चा। विदिते वे भंते आवतके हमा बुधसि धंमसि संघसि ति गालवे चं प्रसादे च।

Sanskrit rendering by Amulya Sen: प्रियदर्शी राजा मागधः संघम् अभिवाद्य आह। अल्पाबाधतां च स्पर्श (=सुख)—विहारतां च। विदितं वः भदन्ताः यावत्कं मम बुद्धे धर्मे संघे इति गौरवं च प्रसादः च।
Asoka's Edicts (Calcutta 1956), p.135.

The word Bhanta (Bhadanta) is generally rendered as Sir; D.R. Bhandarkar (*Asoka*, Calcutta 1955, p.335) renders it as Reverend Sir; Reverend One will also be good.

The word Pasada (Prasada) here certainly means faith. B.M. Barua points out बुधसि धंमसि गालावे चं पसादे च recalls बुद्धे धम्मे संघे अवेच्चप्पसादो of Angut. Nikaya. *Asoka and his Inscriptions* (Calcutta 1955), Pt.II, p.64. Prasada in Sanskrit can also mean faith. Vide Edgerton: *BHS Dictionary*.

19. *Rgyan-Drug Mchog-Gnyis* (Gangtok 1962) gives a brief account (in English) of Prajnaparamita and connected issues. For Bodhisattva-vada, the kingpin of the Mahayana, Har Dayal's book (cited above under Note 6) remains the standard authority.

20. Vide Note 6 supra.

21. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan: *The Bhagavadgita* (London 1949), p.60, f.n.5.

22. Pp.316-47 in Bendall's edition (Bibliotheca Buddhica, Petrograd/Hague).

23. Chapter II in Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya's edition (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta). Verses 24-26.

सर्वक्षेत्राणुसंख्यैश्च प्रणामैः प्रणमाम्यहं।
सर्वत्राध्वगतान् बुद्धान् सहधर्मगणोत्तमान् ॥
सर्वचैत्यानि वन्देऽहं बोधिसत्वाश्रयांस्तथा।
नमः करोम्युपाध्यायानभिवन्द्यान् यतींस्तथा ॥
बुद्धं गच्छामि शरणं यावदाबोधिमण्डतः।
धर्मं गच्छामि शरणं बोधिसत्वगणं तथा ॥

24. Early ornamental motifs of Triratna are seen in Sanchi, Barhut and Amaravati. Standard works like Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London 1927/New York 1965) or Zimmer: *Art of Indian Asia* (New York 1955) depict some of these.

25. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta 1958), p.40 illustrates a set from Nepal. For somewhat different forms see Alice Getty: *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford 1928/Tokyo 1962), p.21.

26. Edward Conze: *The Prajnaparamita Literarture* (The Hague 1960), p.30.

27. Pp.159-170 in Nalinaksha Dutt's edition (Jayaswal Research Institute Series).

28. *Sadhanamala* ed. Bhattacharyya (Gaekwad Oriental Series), Vol. I, pp.72, 100, 106, 173, 201-2, 225, 272, 273 & 297.

29. एषोऽहमाबोधेर्बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि द्विपदानामग्र्यम्, धर्म्मं शरणं गच्छामि समग्र महायानम्, सङ्घं शरणं गच्छामि अवैवर्त्तिकबोधिसत्वगणम्... *Sadhananmala*, Vol I, p.225.

30. Vide *Mahavyutpatti* and Edgerton : *BHS Dictionary*.

31. An account of the lasting contributions of the Sangha will be found in S. Dutt: *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries in India* (London 1962).

32. The facts of Tibetan ecology, that is the socio-economic factors which favoured a collectivist striving will be presented by this writer elsewhere.

33. To be discussed in the succeeding papers.

34. *Bkah-gdams pha-chhos* (xylograph in Namgyal Institute of Tibetology) བླ་མ་སངས་རྒྱས། བླ་མ་སངས་རྒྱས། བླ་མ་སངས་རྒྱས། (Vol. ཁ་) སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་དམ་པ་བླ་མ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆིའོ། །སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་དམ་པ་སངས་རྒྱས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆིའོ། །སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་དམ་པ་དམ་ཆོས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆིའོ། །སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་དམ་པ་དགེ་འདུན་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ལ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆིའོ། (vol. ང་)

35. *Bkah-gdams bu-chhos* (xylograph in NIT) ང་ལ་སྟོན་པ་རྫོགས་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཡོད། སྐྱོབ་པ་དམ་ཆོས་ཡོད། འདྲེན་པ་འཕགས་པའི་དགེ་འདུན། (vol. ཀ་) །བདག་ཅག་ངམ་ཟེའི་ཚོགས་རབ་ཀྱི། །སྐྱབས་ཀྱི་དམ་པ་བླ་མ་མཆོག །བདག་ཅག་སྐལ་བ་ལྡན་པ་ཡི། །སྙིང་གི་པདྨའི་ཟེ་འབྲུ་ལ། །བླ་མ་ཁྱོད་བཞུགས་ཆོས་པར་མཛོད།། (vol. ཀ་).

36. Vide Ch. 8 in Guenther's English translation (cited under Note 7 supra).

37. To be discussed in the succeeding papers.

38. John Krueger: The Epilogue and Gnomic Colophon of the Erdeni-yin Tobci in *Central Asiatic Journal* (Wiesbaden), Vol. VIII, No. 2.

39. Nicholas Poppe: *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha* (Wiesbaden 1967), p. 13.

40. Nicholas Poppe: *The Mongolian Monuments* etc (cited under Note 5 supra), pp. 60-66.

41. Henry Serruys (cited under Note 4 supra) pp. 198-9.

THE SKYABS-MGON

I

The incarnation of Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara is universally known as Dalai Lama.

The title Dalai (tale) is of Mongol origin meaning "vast as the ocean". The Manchu Emperior used this form; the Western envoys to the Manchu court got this usage from the Chinese while the Russians got this direct from the Mongols, Buriats and Kalmuks.

In Tibet (and Tibetan speaking countries) the Dalai Lama is variously called Gyalwa Rimpoche (rgyal-ba rin-poche, that is, jinaratna or precious conqueror), Kundun (kun-hdus, that is, omnipresence), Gong-sa (one on the highest Bhumi, that is, sovereign), Kyamgon Rimpoche (skyabs-mgon rin-poche, that is, precious lord of refuge) or Kyamgon Buk (skyabs-mgon sbug or inmost lord of refuge). The last, that is, Kyamgon appears to be the official designation or lawful title used in State-papers; other titles could be added in official correspondence and other formal occasions.

British official reports about Tibet during the rule of Dalai Lama XIII speak of two titles, Kyamgon and Gyalwa Rimpoche (1). Charles Bell in enumerating the titles (2) gave priority to "The Precious Protector" (Kyamgon Rimpoche). The English text of the first Tibetan memorandum to the Simla Conference (10 October 1913) described the Dalai Lama

as Precious Protector or Protector (3). In the famous petition of 1932 to the Dalai Lama XIII praying for his long life Tibetans addressed him as Kyamgon (4). The present Dalai Lama, that is, Dalai Lama XIV used the title Kyamgon with prefix Gongsa in the Tibetan text of the Constitution promulgated on 10 March 1963 (5).

The terms Lama (bla-ma Skt. guru), Chang-chub-sempa (byang-chub-sems-dpah Skt. bodhisattva), Chen-re-sik (spyan-ras-gzigs Skt. avalokitesvara) and Kyamgon (skyabs-mgon Skt. not known) are discussed in this paper. As in the previous paper the bearing of doctrinal terms on secular life is discussed.

II

"Previous to the Lama even the name of the Buddha did not exist" (6).

The spirit enshrined in this Tibetan adage was neither un-Buddhist nor un-Indian; though it might have been equally true of pre-Buddhist Tibetan norm (Bon: Shaman) in which the priest wielded considerable power.

In India the veneration for the preceptor/teacher/master is traceable to the Vedic age; in early Vedic times the word Acharya was more popular while later the word Guru; the word Sasta was also current before the Buddha.

The indispensability of the teacher is admitted in the Upanishads. The etymological meaning of the term Upanishad is "sitting down near", that is, sitting down near the teacher. There is an element of esoteric in the Upanishad as there is a process of dialectic therein. Both presume a teacher. This need is so obvious that there may be no need to use the word for teacher even. As in the msot famous exhortation for "seeking the best teacher", the actual expression is "seeking the best", *Katha* 1, 3: 14. *Mundaka* 1, 2:12 advises search for a Guru who is learned in the scriptures and has realized the Absolute. In *Taittiriya*, 1, 11:2 the pupil on graduation is enjoined to be one to whom the Acharya is the Deva. The

concluding verse of *Svetasvatara* declares that the highest mystery of the Vedanta reveals to the high souled seeker who has the highest devotion for the Deva and for his Guru as for Deva (7). *Katha* and *Taittiriya* are admittedly pre-Buddhistic. *Mundaka* is a post-Buddha work. The *Svetasvatara*, according to Nalinaksha Dutt, "is no doubt pre-Buddhistic and very likely formed the basis of the teachings of Alara Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra, the spirital teachers of Siddhartha Gautama" (8).

Brihad-devata, a compendium of the deities and myths of the Rig Veda—composed acc. to Arthur Macdonell after 500 B.C. but in style and diction a Vedic workmanship acc. to the same authority—uses both the terms Acharya and Guru and sometimes synonymously (9). Guru is however an omnibus word connoting any superior while Acharya, unless repugnant to the context, is an intellectual superior like the teacher. It is not relevant to present here the fine distinctions or descriptive classifications of Smriti (like Manu) or Dharmasutra (like Apastamba or Gautama) (10). It is however necessary to notice the steady rise of the priest (Purohita: Brahmana) as a superior (Guru) from early Vedic times. The Purohita was the indispensable authority at the consecration of the king. Horizontal crystallization of society into Varna with Brahmana on the top set the protocol between the priest and the king. Even though the colourful picture of the sacerdotal authority electing the temporal power as drawn by Jayaswal and Coomaraswamy cannot be so faithful to facts (11), the legend of Brahmana as the source of Kshatra was the reflex of social consensus. While the *Brihadaranyaka* description of the Brahmana as "the womb out of which the Kshatra issued" (12) was no doubt metaphorical, the Purohita of the Vedic consecration was the matrix for the Rajaguru in medieval Hindu Rashtra.

Be it for intellectual or spiritual objective the first stage in striving was to attach oneself to a teacher. It is significant that after renunciation Prince Siddhartha did not immediately make for a retreat in the mountains or forests; he sought teachers and became disciple of Alara Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra

successively. He no doubt rejected their doctrines (13) and through different disciplines and processes forged his own way to Enlightenment. As at the beginning of his quest the Buddha sought teachers so at its end he sought disciples and, before he began his missionary life, converted his quondam associates, the five Brahmana ascetics. "There was no Acharya equal to him" (14) and for nearly half a century he was "the Sasta of all mortals and gods" (15). Sasta like Guru is an omnibus word and would mean ruler (sasanakarta/raja) and parent (pita) as well as a teacher versed in the Sastras. Sasta became the epithet of Buddha in chaste expression. Later, when the Guru (preceptor/teacher) was equated to the Buddha, Guru was a good synonym for Buddha.

In the beginning Bhagavan was the most popular form of addressing the Buddha; Sasta, that is, Guru had an intellectual or academic tone. With the growth of Tantra, grew the cult of spiritual preceptor and Sasta or Guru became a popular form for describing the Buddha, the original preceptor. It is not necessary for the present context to trace the beginnings of Tantra and digress into the several theories which profess to cancel each other. It is sufficient to note that in one form or other Tantra was known to the Indus Civilization (c.3500-1500 B.C.) as also to the Vedic Civilization (-1500 B.C.-). Tantra was thus in existence in the Buddha's time; it is not known in what form and to what degree the Buddha accepted it.

When Buddhism was split into two Vehicles (say in the first century after Christ), Mahayana had fully accepted Tantra. Nagarjuna, the discoverer of Prajnaparamitra, furnished a new philosophy for Tantra by the doctrine of Sunyata; the corpus of legends about Nagarjuna's alchemy and magic cropped up later when the cult of Guru was in full swing. The second great figure, Asanga (c.350), was the founder of Yoga school in Buddhism. Curiously enough Tantra and Guru-cult characterized contemporary Brahmanical religion. There is positive epigraphic evidence on Saivite hagiolatry. The Mathura Inscription (c.380) speaks of adoration of Guru, lineage of Guru and even the gallery of Guru images (16). The *Devi Bhagavata*—though its extant texts were composed much

later—expresses the sentiments of the age of saint Asanga and scholar Amarasimha as if to corroborate the data from the Mathura Inscription. It says "The Guru is Brahma, the Guru is Vishnu and the Guru is Mahesvara. Salutation to the Guru who is the real Absolute"(17).

The period which witnessed the spread of Buddhism in Tibet (c.600-1100) was roughly the period when Tantra was the dominant cult in India. There was regular flow of the fresh developments from India into Tibet. In this process the quest for the right teacher was natural. Buddhist treatises on Tantra gave full sanction to such. Extracts may be made from three works of the eighth century: *Advayasiddhi*, *Jnanasiddhi* and *Prajnopayavinischayasiddhi*.

"In this world and other worlds there is none better than a Guru through whose kind offices the wise obtain so many perfections".

"The Guru is Sugata, Buddha and Dharmakaya".

"The Guru with requisite qualifications is nothing short of a ruler or a leader of the country"(18).

Buddhism in Tibet begins its victorious career with Padmasambhava (c.750-800) and significantly in Tibet he is known as Guru Ratna or Mahaguru. Padmasanbhava and Santarakshita ordained the first "Lamas". The Tibetan word Lama corresponded to the Sanskrit word Guru and as the term Guru was not to be indiscriminately applied so the term Lama has been through centuries used in respect of a few categories of monks and priests and even lay scholars.

Tibetan canonical literature based on Indian sources as well as the tracts and treatises composed by Tibetan scholars and priests bear testimony to the paramount position of the Lama. The tract on the Awakening of Supreme Bliss (bde-mchog-byungba) says "The Lama is the Buddha, the Lama is the Dharma and likewise the Lama is the Sangha"

(19). To Nagarjuna is attributed this formula: "Abandon offerings to all others and make your sole offerings to the Lama. When the Lama is pleased you attain the wisdom of the omniscient"(20). Milarepa (1040-1123) begins a song on old age and death thus: "I bow at the feet of the teacher, the Buddha of the three times"(21). An ancient Tibetan proverb affirms that without the auspices of the Lama even the blessings of the Buddha do not operate (22). Sakya Lama Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147-1216) enjoined that the first salutation should be to the feet of the Lama (23).

Tibetan liturgy and iconography fully reflect the paramount position of the Lama. In the temples and monasteries from the Himalayas to the Altais, the image of the founder or early preceptor of the sect (Guru Rimpoche, Jo Atisa, Milarepa, Sakya Pandita or Tsong-khapa) is conspicuous. Even the most illiterate devotee knows that this practice does not suggest any slight for the Buddha because the Guru is nearer than the Buddha. Besides the more literate is conscious that there is no distinction between a Buddha and a Buddha. The Yellow Sect (dge-lugs-pa) portrayal of the Buddha-field with Tsong-khapa (1357-1419) in the centre and Siddhartha Gautama among the surrounding host of all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas has sanctity in this sentiment. Tsong-khapa himself had enjoined (24):

whether for this life or the next
one must follow the noble friend (Lama)

Tsong-khapa's disciples evinced ability to administer the temporal needs of those who sought refuge in the Lama. This role was in accord with the ideology of Byang-chub-sems-dpah (Bodhisattva).

III

"A hero with Bodhi-chitta takes upon himself the burden of others"(25).

A Bodhisattva thus features in Tibetan imagery.

It is neither possible nor necessary to attempt an adequate exposition of the doctrine of Bodhisattva within the limits of

this enquiry into political theories and institutions. The stages in the history of the Bodhisattva concept—from the Bodhisattva (singular) of the Jataka to the Bodhisattva (collective) on the eve of Mahayana's migration to Tibet— with its ever expanding contents and facets belong to the field of religion and philosophy(26). Facts precisely necessary for an understanding of Bodhisattva as an institution in the Samsara are culled here from the Indian context. Etymologically a Bodhisattva is an Enlightenment-Being, as Gautama himself was in his numerous previous lives (Jataka aspiring for Bodhi). In Mahayana a Bodhisattva could be either celestial or terrestrial and in each category there could be many as in a way all the Bodhisattvas in different categories and grades were phantom or apparitional bodies (Nirmanakaya) of the Absolute (Paramartha or Bodhi).

The concept of Nirmanakaya, the Mahayana thinkers affirmed, was as old as Gautama Buddha and modern scholars do not reject this belief(27). Gopinath Kaviraj, savant and seer, traces the concept to a period anterior to Gautama Buddha; he notices the usage Nirmanachitta by the founder of Samkhya (i.e. Kapila who must have been a few generations earlier than Alara Kalama) and would find the beginnings of the doctrine of 'magical self-multiplicative power of the Supreme' in the *Rig Veda*(28).

The *Saddharma-pundarika* (composed in the first century B.C. and elaborated in the third & fourth centuries A.C.), one of nine basic books of Mahayana and "the crown jewel of all Sutras", presents(29) a glorious pageant of the Bodhisattvas: their might and majesty and their wisdom and compassion. If the book suffers from an ubiquity of Bodhisattvas it does not manipulate barriers between terrestrials and celestials. In fact the total effect of the pageant is to awaken faith in the terrestrial Bodhisattvas. The terrestrial (Maunshi) Bodhisattva was immanent with the community of believers while the celestial was transcendental.

The Prajnaparamita (Transcendental Wisdom) in its earliest stage was a highly intellectual recipe for nihilism and quite

beyond the grasp of the ordinary mind(30). In their endeavour to transform the doctrine for the highbrows and intellectuals into a religion for the masses, the master-thinkers (Acharyas) of Mahayana shifted the emphasis from Prajna (Wisdom) to Sraddha (Faith.) Likewise the accent was shifted from the spiritual Conqueror (Jina) to the material Saviour (Boddhisattva). It was more desirable to awaken faith in a Boddhisattva (Manjusri, Avalokitesvara or Samantabhadra) than to meditate on an ethereal/hypothetic Kula (Akshobhya, Amitabha or Vairochana). And between the two Bodhisattvas (celestial and terrestrial) the one near at hand was to be naturally more prized.

The Manushi Bodhisattva was in fact "the ideal Man of the Mahayana" as Edward Conze describes him (31). He could be householder or recluse; he could be reborn as a wealthy man or king. Obviously as a Nirmanakaya he could take any shape because his duties and functions would determine the choice. For preaching the Dharma the Bodhisattva would be a recluse or monk(32). The Sangha would therefore be better described as the Gana of Bodhisattvas; an usage traceable in the *Saddharmapundarika* (33).

The altruism of Bodhisattva found its classic exposition in *Bodhicharyavatara* of Santideva (8th century).—A Bodhisattva feels the joys and sorrows of others as his own; he loves and guards others as he loves and guards himself; he identifies with the poor and the lowly. A Bodhisattva's resolve is of great use in the Samsara or material world (34).

The *Bodhisattvabhumi* (Asanga: c. 350) enumerates the acts of common welfare expected of a Bodhisattva; these include supply of material needs of life and provision of refuge. The grant of refuge is further emphasized as one of the five constant duties of a Bodhisattva (35). Santideva's *Siksha-samuchchaya* quotes the *Gandavyuha Sutra* to say that the resolve of the Bodhisattva is the foundation of all material and moral good, the annihilator of all poverty and the refuge of all beings (36).

Thus for the ordinary man, with ordinary intelligence and ordinary resources, the Bodhisattva could be the patron saint for his material welfare as well. In Tibet "the ideal Man

of the Mahayana'' became the national ideal. Santarakshita, the joint founder of the first monastery (Samye), is immortalized under the epithet ''Bodhisattva as scholar''. The kings propagating the Dharma were recognized as Bodhisattva as well as Nirmanakaya. The element of hero in a Bodhisattva was emphasized in translating the term from Sanskrit into Tibetan; the suffix 'dpah' (i.e. 'daph-bo' or hero) was added after 'byang-chub-sems' instead of a simple 'pa' as adjectival termination (37). One might be a great man otherwise but his popularity would be assured only if he was called a Byang-chub-sems-dpah. A Guru (Lama) could be one par excellence if he was known to be a Bodhisattva (Byang-chub-sems-dpah). Down to our times a popular honorific for Byang-chub-sems-dpah, in Central Tibet at least, is Sprul-sku (Nirmanakaya). This has been so for the simple reason that a Sprul-sku of a celestial or terrestrial Being was by and large ''the ideal Man of the Mahayana'', the Saviour for this world, the other world or for both. The Lama as the custodian of the script, the organizer of schools, the master of occult and the adviser of king could no doubt be the Bodhisattva for the entire community in times of distress. Besides the layman could come very near 'the house of Lamas' (bla-brang) as much because of the socio-economic climate of Tibet (38) as for the needs of firm papagation; there was no distance between the monks and common men as was in India or as it is in a Theravada country to-day. Thus in times of distress taking refuge in the Bodhisattva-gana, the Bla-mahi-brang, was in the logic of history.

IV.

May Lokesvara protect you as he sits,
surrounded by his mass of rays,
on Mount Potalaka, which echoes
with the roar of its deep caves;
who thus is like the moon within the mass of waves
churned in the Sea of Milk by the mountain Mandara,
whirling with heavy roar
and unwavering because of its great speed

Jnanasrimitra (39)

This verse composed in Bengal around 1050 could have been a typical reflex of Tibetan mind in 1650 when the Great Fifth incarnation of Avalokitesvara (spyan-ras-gzigs) "looked down from on high" the soaring palace-temple on Marpo Ri (Red Hill) which he called Potala.

In the Mahayana pantheon as fully developed in India and followed later in Tibet and Mongolia, also China and Japan, Avalokitesvara is the protector and saviour of all living beings the lord and sovereign of this suffering world. Yet his origin is obscure; Har Dayal and Edward Conze find Magi and Mithra elements in the conception (40). However the basic Mahayana Sutra, the *Saddharmapundarika*, in the concluding chapters, depicts Avalokitesvara in no vague terms. He is decidedly a prominent Bodhisattva though he has to share this prominence with Manjusri. A full chapter (XXIV) is devoted to Avalokitesvara and his powers and capabilities. Faced with any mortal danger—fire or water, monster or demon, fall from precipice or hit with thunderbolt, host of armed enemies or swords of executioners, witchcraft or fell disease—the afflicted on mere invocation will be rescued by Avalokitesvara. Positive boon like a child to childless can likewise be obtained from Avalokitesvara. He can infallibly eradicate all mundane sufferings (41).

His compassion is not a passive virtue or a static quality; his is an active personality, full of dynamism; he is "unwavering because of great speed" to use the words of Jnanasrimitra. To the afflicted mortals he is the jewel of the Bodhisattvas: he is the Sangha (Bodhisattva-Gana) Ratna.

In the early Mahayana eight Bodhisattvas are prominent viz. Maniusri, Vajrapani, Avlokitesvara, Kshitigarbha, Sarvanivaranavishkambhin, Akasagarbha, Maitreya and Samantabhadra. These are "a group of equal rank. Perhaps Manjusri is regarded as *primus inter pares*. In the later Mahayana the oligarchy is changed into an absolute monarchy. Avalokitesvara is first and the rest nowhere. He absorbs all the virtues powers, functions and prerogatives of the other Bodhisattvas, because he is the Lord of Mercy. He occupies the supreme position in the Universe and reigns without a rival". Har Dayal (42).

The grandeur of Avalokitesvara is depicted in *Avalokitesvara-gunakaranda-vyuha* (abbr. *Karandavyuha*): "the detailed description of the basket of the qualities of Avalokitesvara". Its first composition dates considerably earlier than the fourth century while the complete extant text (43) perhaps belongs to the seventh century. Its theme is the glorification of the compassionate and mighty redeemer Avalokitesvara and is punctuated with his many exploits of rescue. The historic value of the *Karandavyuha* however lies in the exposition of the Six Mystic Syllables: OM MANI PADME HUM, which Avalokitesvara the creator of the world donated to the world(44).

In Tibet (and other Lamaist countries) OM MANI PADME HUM symbolizes the Dharma and even "the formula about the origin of all objects", YE DHARMA HETU PRABHAVA, takes a second place. In Tibetan legend Avalokitesvara in his compassion took the shape of a monkey and begot the Tibetan race. (i.e. mankind). The ubiquitous presence of the Six Mystic Syllables — on rocks and boulders, stupas and temples, prayer wheels and altars—is, in the present writer's observation, a thanksgiving for the precious gift of human life, an opportunity for working towards Buddhahood. Besides the legend is a reminder to modern science that a millennium before Charles Darwin, the Tibetan intuition grappled with the doctrines of 'natural selection' and 'survival of the fittest'.

As the begetter of the Tibetan race Spyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokitesvara) was naturally thought of as its protecting deity. The first great king Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c.605-650) was recognized as the Sprul-sku (Nirmanakaya) of the Father of the People while his scholar-minister Thonmi Sambhota was found to be Hjam-dpal (Manjusri). Only two of the great king's successors were found to be Sprul-sku of the same. The incarnation of Spyan-ras-gzigs, the topmost of the ninety one Byang-chub-sems-dpah, could not be a routine affair and his mortal forms were few and far between. The tradition about Spyan-ras-gzigs however grew from strength to strength.

In their adoration for the Founder and Protector, the Tibetans moved towards the summit of monotheism (and not

mere henotheism with myriads of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Dharmapalas etc) when they described Spyan-ras-gzigs as the Sole God of the Land of Snow (45). Indian reformer Atisa and his Tibetan disciple Hbrom-ston (1003-1064) reckoned with this spirit and enumerated the four Mgon-skyabs (Lords of Refuge) thus: Gautama Buddha, merciful Avalokitesvara, goddess Tara and guardian of faith Achala (46).

The three royal patrons of Dharma — Srong-btsan-sgam-po, Khri-srong-lde-btsan and Ral-pa-chen — were incarnations of Spyan-ras-gzigs and the next was Hbrom-ston himself. The traditions, recorded in successive centuries, agree on these four names. The next name unanimously agreed in different traditions is that of Sa-chen Kundgah-snying-po (1092-1158). There was no attempt in any particular lineage (monarchical or monastic) to have the incarnation to themselves(47). The followers of Tsong-khapa (1357-1419) made the bold bid and got approval of all Tibetans to fourteen successive Sprul-skus of the Sole God of Tibet: Dge-hdun-grub (1391-1475) to Bstan-hdzin Rgya-mtsho (b.1935).

V

"Lord, Thou art the most excellent Refuge to go for"

Dam-chos-padma-dkar-po

When the hierarch of the Yellow Sect was accepted by people of all Sects as the incarnation of the Sole God of Tibet, the hierarch's title to the sole kingship or monistic sovereignty was a foregone conclusion, particularly because the other Sects did not accept the reforms introduced by Tsong-khapa and his two disciples. Loyalty to the Dalai Lama(48) was in in expectation to the topmost Bodhisattva who could protect against sufferings of this world and in gratitude to the Father of the People; this did not involve surrender of doctrinal sentiments. The two greats, Fifth and Thirteenth Dalai Lamas, far from supporting the Yellow Sect bigotry (which included suppression and forcible conversion of Old Sect

monasteries), tolerated the Old Sect teachings and even drew upon these teachings(49). Thus for other Sects the Sole God was above the Established Church. The Dalai Lama was the silken tie which held together the different Sects and the dispersed areas. The *plenitudo potestatis* of the Dalai Lama rested on the popular obedience while the *potestas limitata* of the Heavenly Palace (Dgah-ldan-pho-brang) originated in the Established Church(50).

Each of the roles BLA-MA, BYANG-CHUB-SEMS-DPAH and SPYAN-RAS-GZIGS had sanction for exercise of temporal authority, and the three roles combined in the hierarch of Yellow Sect could render him the Rex in Western expression. But the monks of Ganden, Drespung and Sera had the genius to seek the *raison d'etre* of political power in the fundamentals of the Dharma. They traced this back to the earliest teachings known and accepted over the entire Buddhist world in both Vehicles. They designated their hierarch as SKYABS-MGON. From the very beginning the grant of Skyabs(Skt. Sarana) has been the right as well as the obligation of Mgon (Skt. Natha). As the Tibetan rendering of the *Saddaharmapundarika* quotes a devotee addressing the Buddha: "Mgon-po, Thou art the most excellent Skyabs"(51). The Buddha had offered, as the Sakya Lama (Chos-rgyal-hphags-pa 1235-1280) put it, "Skyabs to one who has no Mgon"(52). Through parables and prophecies the Buddha had promised appearance at the end of the world or in time of distress(53), not unlike that in the *Bhagavadgita*(54)

When Righteousness
Declines, O Bharata! When Wickedness
Is strong, I rise, from age to age, and take
Visible shape, and move a man with men,
Succouring the good, thrusting the evil back,
And setting Virtue on her seat again.

(Edwin Arnold's trans. in verse)

Such appearance (Nirmanakaya or Sprul-sku) was never so badly needed as in times of anarchy.

The kingdom built by Srong-btsan-sgam-po (c.605-650) came to an end after the assassination of the apostate Glang-

dar-ma (c.842) and a process of slow but steady disintegration set in. There was no central power and the rise and fall of numerous principalities did not make for peace and security for the people. The native chronicles are as confused as the events for three centuries and a half (c.850-1200) But two facts stand out clearly. First, after a period of stagnation the Dharma made a full resurgence, a renascence, with Atisa's propagation (1042-1054). Second, both for their own protection as well as for that of their 'parish' the abbots of different sects began building monasteries; two sects, Kargyu and Sakya, did well. In grandeur and authority they soon superseded and replaced the castles of the pastoral and nomadic lords. People oppressed by the decadent aristocrats or the rising brigands came for refuge to their respective monasteries and the abbots did not disappoint them.

The rule of the Sakya Lamas or that of the Kargyu Lamas (and Phag-mo-gru-pa) needs no narration here (55). The Lama rulers of the thirteenth century and following saved Tibet from Mongol atrocities while all countries and peoples from Sarai (Volgograd) to Khanbalyk (Peking) had experienced these. Be it their mastery of occult or the impact of their Dharma on the eclectic Mongol mind, the saviours had proved their statesmanship; the Bodhisattva as statesman became the the Rajaguru (Tisri or Bakshi) of the most warlike dynasty on record in Asia and Europe. The Sword of Transcendental Knowledge—the Sakya Lamas were in the lineage of Manjusri—brought down the Sword of naked power. The Adamantine Thunderbolt—the Kargyu Lamas were in the lineage of Vajradhara—calmed down the thunder from Altai-Karakorum. The Lamas not only saved Tibet from invasions; they made Tibet a first-class power of the day.

The titles of these Lamas, who organized full refuge from internal disorder and external aggression, are of direct interest in the present discussion. A Lama ruler would *ipso-facto* be Chos-rgyal (Dharmaraja) and was so in fact and form. To the devotees in general a lama ruler was Mgon-skyabs (Lord of Refuge) in both temporal and spiritual sense. These Lamas themselves did not use the epithet Mgon-

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skyabs or Skyabs-mgon for reasons not clear today. In oral tradition down to our day the devotees are known to have called them so. In correspondence addressed to the Sakya hierarch down to our day the title Skyabs-mgon has been customary(56).

Thus when the Yellow Sect rose into political ascendancy, from the Third Incarnation Bsod-nams Rgya-mtsho onwards, Skyabs-mgon was in current usage. If the Great Fifth made official use of the title, it was only appropriate for Spyan-ras-gzigs: the Sole God and Protector of Tibet. The Dalai Lama was indeed the Skyabs-mgon *par excellence*(57).

NOTES

0. It is necessary to mention several theories and controveries if only to affirm that these theories do not affect the historicity or sequence of the events as narrated in this paper.

The various dates for *Saddharmapundarika* (chs I-XX) are first century B.C., first century A.C. and second century A.C. The later chapters (XXI-XXVII) are dated fourth century to sixth century.

Karandavyuha was composed between fourth and seventh centuries.

Nagarjuna's dates range from 58 B.C. to 150 A.C. Asanga is dated between 350 and 450 A.C.; definitely after Nagarjuna as in Tibetan tradition also.

Thomi Sambhota was not the first to introduce Indic script into Tibet. It is even suggested (Roy Andrew Miller) that Thomi is a fictitious figure. (Fact remains that adaptation of Indic script was finalized in the seventh century and if Srong-btsan-sgam-po had a scholarly minister the latter was apotheosized as Manjusri).

No epigraphic or contemporary evidence is available so far to vouch for the use of the word Lama (bla-ma) in the seventh century and even in the eighth. In the beginning the word used was Ban-de, Slob-dpon, Rab-byung or Mkhan-po. (The terminology does not affect the role and status of Guru).

The treatises *Mani-bkah-hbum* (attributed to seventh century) and *Padma-bkah-thang* (attributed to eighth century) were padded with later events, prophesies etc. till the seventeenth century. (This paper sums up the position till 1650).

Likewise *Bkah-gdams-pha-chos* and *Bkah-gdams-bu-chos* attributed to Atisa and his disciples were enlarged through the centuries. (Narrative in this paper guards against anachronism.)

Giuseppe Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949) discusses the traditions of Tibetan literature.

1. *Military Report on Tibet* (Calcutta 1910) lists (p.115) the titles thus: Kyamgon Rimpoche, Gyalwa Rimpoche, Buk Lama and Kyamgon Buk. *Who's Who in Tibet* (Calcutta 1938) lists (p.1) thus: Gyawa Rimpoche, Kyamgon Rimpoche or Kundun. My own impression is that during the Regency, when there was no Dalai Lama functioning, the title Gya (l) wa Rimpoche was in greater use. Libing Athing Sonam Tobden confirms this.

2. Charles Bell: *Portrait of the Dalai Lama* (London 1946), p.34.

Skyabs-mgon is rendered as protector, that is, one who provides protection. Lord of Refuge translates the original compound (Mgon-Skyabs/Skyabs-Mgon) better than Protector or Saviour.

3. Reproduced in *The Boundary Question between China and Tibet* (Peking 1940), pp.1-4.

4. English translation of the petition and the Dalai Lama's reply will be found in Bell: op.cit pp.377-382.

5. བོད་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་ཁྲིམས། བོད་ཁྱུལ་ལོ། ༣༠ཁ།

6. །བླ་མ་མེད་པའི་གོང་རོལ་ན། ། སངས་རྒྱས་བྱ་བའི་མིང་ཡང་མེད། ། བསྐལ་པ་སྟོང་གི་སངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱང་། ། བླ་མ་དག་ལ་བརྟེན་ནས་བྱུང་།

7. उत्तिष्ठत जाग्रत प्राप्य वरान्निबोधत।
क्षुरस्य धारा निशिता दुरत्यया दुर्गं पथस्तत्कवयो वदन्ति ॥
कठ १, ३: १४

परीक्ष्य लोकान् कर्मचितान् ब्राह्मणो निर्वेदमायान्नास्त्यकृतः कृतेन।
तद्विज्ञानार्थं स गुरुमेवाभिगच्छेत् समित्पाणिः श्रोत्रियं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम् ॥
मुण्डक १, २. १२:

मातृदेवो भव, पितृदेवो भव, आचार्यदेवो भव, अतिथिदेवो भव, यानि अनवद्यानि कर्माणि तानि सेवितव्यानि, नो इतराणि, यानि अस्माकं सुचरितानि तानि त्वयोपास्यानि, नो इतराणि ॥

तैत्तिरीय १, ११: २

यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ।
तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः, प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः, प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥
श्वेताश्वतर ६, २३

8. Nalinaksha Dutt: *Early Monastic Buddhism* (Calcutta 1960), p.24.

9. Arthur Macdonell's edition (Harvard Oriental Series) Acharya ii, 132, 136 ;& 143; iv, 138; v, 39; vi, 9; & viii; 90. Guru iii, 142; iv, 60; v, 103 & 139; & vi, 35.

10. For Acharya/Upadhaya/Guru (different persons) Kane: *History of Dharmasastra* (Poona 1930-62), Vol.II: Pt 1, pp. 322-4 and Vol IV, p. 24 may be seen.

Sabdakalpadruma (Radhakanta Deva) quotes *Kurma Purana*-

गुरुवर्गो यथा,—
उपाध्यायः पिता ज्येष्ठभ्राता चैव महापतिः।
मातुलः श्वशुरस्त्राता मातामहपितामहौ ॥
बन्धुज्येष्ठः पितृव्यश्च पुंस्येते गुरवः स्मृताः।
मातामही मातुलानी तथा मातुश्च सोदराः ॥
श्वश्रूः पितामही ज्येष्ठा धात्री च गुरवः स्त्रीषु।
इत्युक्तो गुरुवर्गोऽयं मातृतः पितृतः द्विजाः ॥
गुरूणाञ्च व सर्वेषां पूज्याः पञ्च तिशेषतः।
तेषामाद्यास्त्रयः श्रेष्ठास्तेषां माता सुपूजिता ॥

यो भावयति या सूते येन विद्योपदिश्यते।
ज्येष्ठभ्राता च भर्त्ता च पञ्चैते गुरवः स्मृताः॥
नास्ति पितृसमो देवो नास्ति मातृसमो गुरुः।
तयोः प्रत्युपकारोऽपि न कथञ्चन विद्यते।
मातुलांश्च पितृव्यांश्च श्वशुरान्ऋत्विजो गुरून्॥
असावहमिति ब्रुयु प्रत्युत्थाय यवीयसः।
कूर्म्मपुराणे उपविभागे ११ अध्यायः॥

11. K.P. Jayaswal: *Hindu Polity* (Calcutta 1924/Bangalore 1943) and A.K. Coomaraswamy : *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (New Haven 1942). For an objective view see U.N. Ghoshal: *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcut'a 1965) pp. 211-236. A description of the ritual is inJ.C. Heesterman: *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration* (The Hague: 1957).

12. ब्रह्म वा इदमग्र आसीदेकमेव तदेकं सन्न व्यभवत्। तच्छ्रेयोरूपमत्यसृजत क्षत्रं यान्येतानि देवला क्षलाणीन्द्रो वरुणः सोमो रुद्रः पर्यन्यो यमो मृत्युरीशान इति। तस्मात् क्षलात्परं नास्ति तस्माद्ब्राह्मणः क्षलियमधस्तादुपास्ते राजसूये क्षल एव तद्यशो दधाति सैषा क्षलस्य योनिर्यद्ब्रह्म॥

बृहदारण्यक १, ४: ११

Political ascendancy of the priestly houses can be noticed in Vedic society. Arthur Berriedale Keith: *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Harvard Oriental Series), pp. 223-230 & 289-99. Also Macdonell: *Vedic Index*, entry on Purohita.

13. For the disciplines Gautama learned from Alara Kalama and Rudraka Ramaputra see Dutt: *Early Monastic Buddhism*, p. 88. Radhakrishnan sums up the situation thus: "He possibly learned from them the need for belief, good conduct, and the practice of meditation, though the content of their teaching seemed to him unsound". *The Dhammapada* (London 1950-), Introduction, p.7.

14. न मे आचरियो अत्थि, सदिसो मे न विज्जति।
सदेवकस्मिं लोकस्मिं, नत्थि मे पटिपुग्गलो ॥
मज्झिमनिकायो; धम्मचक्कपवत्तन।

15. देव-मनुष्याणां शास्ता।

16. The inscription as read by Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar is reproduced in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol.XXI.

17. गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुर्गुरुर्देवोमहेश्वरः।
गुरुरेव परं ब्रह्म तस्मैं श्रीगुरवे नमः।। देवीभागवत।

Present study is about impact of Dharma on the temporal milieu. No aspersion on the merits and needs of the institution (Guru) is meant. The most democratic religious movement in India (Sikh) accepted this institution in the preparatory stage. When Gandhi addressed Tagore as Gurudeva it was certainly not a left-handed compliment.

18. आचार्यात् परतरन्नास्ति त्रैलोक्ये सचराचरे।
यस्य प्रसादात् प्राप्यन्ते सिद्धयोऽनेकधा बुधैः ॥

Advayasiddhi cited in Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: *Sadhanamala* (Gaekwad Oriental Series), Vol II p. lvi fn.

नमस्ते शून्यतागर्भ सर्वसङ्कल्पवर्जित।
सर्वज्ञ ज्ञानसन्दोह ज्ञानमूर्त्त नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ९ ॥
जगदज्ञानविच्छेदिशुद्धतत्त्वार्थदेशक।
धर्मनैरात्म्यसम्भूत वज्रसत्त्व नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १० ॥
सम्बुद्धा बोधिसत्त्वाश्च [त्वत्तः] पारमितागुणाः।
सम्भवन्ति सदा नाथ बोधिचित्त नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ११ ॥
रललयं महायानं त्वत्तः स्थावरजङ्गमम्।
त्रैधातुकमिदं सर्वं जगद्वीर नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १२ ॥
चिन्तामणिरिवाद्भुत जगदिष्टार्थसिद्धये।
सुगताज्ञाकर श्रीमन् बुद्धपुत्र नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ १३ ॥
ज्ञातं मेऽनुत्तरं तत्त्वं प्रसादात् ते गुणार्णव।
वज्राभिषेकं सर्वज्ञ प्रसादं कुरु साम्प्रतम् ॥ १४ ॥
रहस्यं सवबुद्धानां दर्शितं धर्मवज्रिणा।

यथा श्रीचित्तवज्रेण तथा नाथ प्रसीद मे ॥ १५ ॥
भवत्पादाम्बुजे त्यक्त्वा नान्या मे विद्यते गतिः ।
तस्मात् कुरु दयानाथ संसारगतिनिर्जित ॥ १६ ॥

प्रज्ञोपायविनिश्चयसिद्धि; तृतीयपरिच्छेद ।

गुरुप्रसादो यस्यास्ति स लभेत् तत्त्वमुत्तमम् ।
अन्यथा क्लिश्यते बालः चिरकालविमोहितः ॥ २३ ॥
गुरुर्बुद्धो भवेत् धर्मः सङ्घश्चापि स एव हि ।
प्रसादात् ज्ञायते तस्य यस्य रत्नत्रयं वरम् ॥ २४ ॥
अज्ञानतिमिरान्धानामेष मार्गप्रदर्शकः ।
स भवेत् सर्वसौख्याग्र्यः सर्वकामप्रदायकः ॥ २५ ॥
धर्मगम्भीरनिष्ठात्मा विविक्तकरुणात्मकः ।
रत्नत्रयप्रतिष्ठार्थी धर्मदाने निरामिषः ॥ २६ ॥
स गुरुः शिष्यसद्ग्राही सर्वबुद्धानुकारकः ।
इत्युवाच जगन्नाथो नान्ये वै गुरवः स्मृताः ॥ २७ ॥
यस्मान्न तत्समो ह्यस्ति पूजनीयो महामुनिः ।
तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन पूजयेद्गुरुवरं व्रती ॥ २८ ॥

ज्ञानसिद्धि; प्रथमपरिच्छेद ।

रत्नत्रयेषु बुद्धात्मा कृपावान् सर्वजन्तुषु ।
त्यागादिसंयतो धीरः सर्वपुण्यमहोदयः ॥ ९ ॥
बोधिचित्तसमुत्पन्नः प्रसन्नो गुणवान् सुधीः ।
अक्रोधनो महोत्साही धर्म्मगम्भीरनिश्चयः ॥ १० ॥
सयुक्तिकं धर्मदानं निरा[मा]सं सदा मतम् ।
अल्पेच्छता सदा तस्य सम्भारद्वयसम्भृतः ॥ ११ ॥
गुरुरेष समाख्यातः सर्वबुद्धैः सवज्रिभिः ।
स एव सर्वसत्त्वानां शासको लोकनायकः ॥ १२ ॥

ज्ञानसिद्धि; त्रयोदशपरिच्छेद ।

Prajnopayavinischayasiddhi and *Jnanasiddhi* are reproduced in Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: *Two Vajrayana Works* (Gaekwad Oriental Series).

For similar sentiments in Brahmanical Tantra, John Woodroffe (Arthur Avalon): *Principles of Tantra* (Madras 1960), chs XIII & XIV and *Introduction to Tantra Sastra* (Madras 1956),

pp 65-67 may be seen.
For the sublime aspects of Guru see also Max Arthur Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion* (Oxford 1909).

19. །ཟླ་མ་ས་ངན་ཀུས་ཟླ་མ་ཆོས། ། ཟླ་མ་དགེ་འདུན་དེ་བཞིན་ཏེ།
[བཀའ་འགྱུར། གྱུད་འགྲེལ། ཁ་]

20. ། མཆོད་པ་ལྷམས་ཙད་སྦྱང་ནས་ནི། ། ཟླ་མ་མཆོད་པ་ཡང་དག་བརྟན།
། དེ་མཉེས་པ་ན་ཀུན་མཁྱེན་གྱི། ། ཡེ་ཤེས་མཆོག་ནི་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར།
[བསྟན་འགྱུར། རྒྱུད། ཏི་]

21. Humphrey Clarke : *The Message of Milarepa* (London 1958), p.102.

22. ། ཉི་མའི་འོད་ཟེར་རབ་ཚ་ཡང། ། མེ་ཤེལ་མེད་པར་མེ་མི་འབྱུང། ।
། དེ་བཞིན་ས་ངན་ཀུས་བྱིན་རླབས་ཀྱང། ། ཟླ་མ་མེད་པར་འབྱུང་མི་འགྱུར།
[ས་སྐྱ་བཀའ་འགྲུམ། ཀ་]

23। ཐོག་ཝར་ཟླ་མའི་ཞལས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ནས། [འགོངས་འདས་དབྱར་ཞིང་མིད།]

24. ། དེ་ནས་འདི་ཕྱིའི་ལེགས་ཚོགས་ཇི་སྙེད་པའི། ། རྡོན་འབྲལ་ལེགས་
པར་འགྲིགས་པའི་རྩ་བ་ནི། ། ལམ་ལ་ཁྱོན་བཤེས་གཉེན་དམ་པ་འབད་
པ་ཡིས། ། བསམ་དང་ལྷུར་བས་ཚུལ་བཞིན་བསྟན་པ་རྣ། ། མཐོང་ནས
ས་ཐོག་གི་ཕྱིར་ཡང་མི་གདོང་བར། ། བཀའ་བཞིན་ལྷུབ་པའི་མཆོད
པས་མཉེས་པར་བྱེད།
[ཇི་ཙོང་ཁ་པའི་གསུང་འབུམ། ཁ་]

25. དཔའ་བོ་=དགྲ་སོག་ལས་འཇིགས་པ་མེད་པ་འཇིག་རྟེན་གྱི་དཔའ་
བོ་དང་སྤྱན་དང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་ སོག་ས་ སྤྱོད་ ནུས་པ་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ དཔའ་བོ
ད་བདེ་མཆོག་ལའང་། ། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་=གཞན་དོན
འགྲུབ་དུ་འཇུག་པ་པོ།

[དགེ་བཤེས་ཆོས་གྲགས།]

26. Nalinaksha Dutt: *Aspects of Mahayana Buddhism and its relation to Hinayana* (London 1930) remains the standard authority on Mahayana as a whole and on several issues.
Har Dayal : *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (London 1932) covers the subject of Bodhisattva.
T.R.V. Murti: *The Central Philosophy of Buddhism* (London 1955) provides an excellent comparative study.

27. Nalinaksha Dutt: *Aspects of Mahayana* etc, pp. 96-117. See also Edward Conze: *Buddhist Thought in India* (London 1962), pp.172 & 232. Lama Anagarika Govinda : *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* (London 1959), pp. 216, 221-24 expounds the Tantric approach.

28. Gopinath Kaviraj : *Aspects of Indian Thought* (Burdwan University 1966), pp. 137-47. This subject is involved with another 'parallel development.' in Brahmanism and Buddhism : Atman and Tathagatagarbha. Considerations of space forbid any attempt to present the findings of Suzuki, Conze, Dutt and Gokhale.

29. A standard English translation is by Kern in *The Sacred Books of the East.* Nalinaksha Dutt (and Mironov) edition of the text (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta) is followed in this paper.

30. In this paragraph I generally follow the analysis and chronology of Edward Conze: The Development of Prajnaparamita Thought in *Buddhism and Culture* (Suzuki Ninetieth Birthday Volume 1960) and *The Prajnaparamita Literature* (The Hague 1960). The accent on Manushi Bodhisattva is my own.

31. Edward Conze : *Buddhism Its Essence and Development* (Oxford 1951/53 etc), p.125.

32. *Saddharmapundarika*, ch I, verses 13-43

33. *Saddharmapundarika*, ch IX, lines preceding verse 12; ch XIV, para two; ch XX, para three.

34. बोधिप्रणिधिचित्तस्य संसारेऽपि फलं महत् ।

बोधिचर्यावतार, १; १७

अनाथानामहं नाथः सार्थवाहश्च यायिनां ।
पारेप्सूनां च नौभूतः सेतुः सङ्क्रम एव च ॥

बोधिचर्यावतार, ३; १७

हीनादिष्वात्मतां कृत्वा परत्वमपि चात्मनि ।
भावयेर्ष्यां च मानं च निर्विकल्प्येन चेतसा ॥

बोधिचर्यावतार; ८; १४०

जगद्व्याधिप्रशमनं भैषज्यमिदमुत्तमं ।
भवाध्वभ्रमणश्रान्तो जगद्विश्रामपादपः ॥
दुःखत्युत्तरणे सेतुः सामान्यः सर्वयायिनां ।
जगत्क्लेशोष्मशमन उदितश्चित्तचन्द्रमाः ॥

बोधिचर्यावतार, ३; २९–३०

35. अनाथानां च दुःखितानां कृपणानामप्रतिशरणानां सनाथक्रियया ।
अनाथेषु सत्त्वेषु [दुःखितेषु च] अप्रतिशरणेषु सनाथक्रिया ।

बोधिसत्त्वभूमि ।

Nalinaksha Dutt's edition (Jayaswal Research Institute Series), pp. 194 & 197.

36. तथार्यगण्डव्यूहसूत्रेऽपि वर्णितं । बोधिचित्तं हि कुलपुत्र वीजभूतं सर्वबुद्धधर्माणां । क्षेत्रभूत सर्वजगच्छुक्लधर्मविरोहणतया । धरणिभूतं सर्वलोकप्रतिशरणतया यावत्पितृभूतं सर्वबोधिसत्त्वारक्षणतया "पेयालं" ॥ वैश्रवणभूतं सर्वदारिद्र्यसंछेदनतया । चिन्तामणिराजभूतं सर्वार्थसंसाधनतया । भद्रघटभूतं सर्वाभिप्रायपरिपूरणतया । शक्तिभूतं क्लेशशत्रु विजयाय ।

.. .. इति हि कुलपुत्र बोधिचित्तमेभिश्चान्यैश्चाप्रमाणैर्गुणविशेषैः समन्वागगमिति ॥

शिक्षासमुच्चय ।

Bendall'sedition (Bibliotheca Buddhica, Petrograd/The Hague), pp 5-6.

37. "The hero as Bodhisattva" would be the appropriate English form for Tibetan expression Byang-chub-sems-dpah. A Tibetan dissertation on *Heroes and Hero-Worship* would be on the hero *par excellence* : the Bodhisattva.

38. This question of the Tibetan ecology and Mahayana is under detailed study elsewhere.

39. English translation is that of Daniel H.H. Ingalls: *An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry* (Harvard Oriental Series), p.64. The original text read by Kosambi & Gokhale, is in *Subhasitaratnakosa* (Harvard Oriental Series).

अत्युद्गाढरयस्थिराकृतिघनध्वानभ्रमन्मन्दर—
क्षुब्धक्षीरधिवीचिसंचयगतप्रालेयपादोपमः ।
श्रीमत्पोतलके गभीरविवृतिध्वानप्रतिध्वानिते
सान्द्रस्वांशुचयश्रिया वलयितो लोकेश्वरः पातु वः ॥ ३ ॥
लोकेश्वरव्रज्या; ज्ञानश्रीमित्र ।

40. Har Dayal: *Bodhisattva Doctrine* (cited under Note 26), p.48 and Edward Conze: *Buddhism* (cited under Note 31), p.147.
Benoytosh Bhattacharyya: *Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta 1958), p.143 traces the concept to Asoka's time.

41. *Saddharmapundarika* ch XXIV particularly the verses at the end. Verse 25 sums up Avalokitesvara as saviour, refuge and recourse in death, disaster and calamity.

42. Pp. 45-46
Mahavyutpatti lists 91 Bodhisattvas with Avalokitesvara as topmost. His numerous forms (including a set of 108 as in Nepal) and his two popular forms (4-handed as the Jewel of the Sangha and 11-headed as the Great Compassion) express the paramountcy of Avalokitesvara. For these forms see Bhattacharyya: op.cit, Walter Clark: *Two Lamaistic Pantheons* (Harvard 1937/New York 1965) and Alice Getty: *Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford 1928/Tokyo1962).

43. Satyabrata Samasrami ed: *Karandavyha* (Calcutta 1873)

44. Edward J. Thomas: *The History of Buddhist Thought* (London 1951),pp.187-94 gives a brief account in English.

45. གངས་ཅན་ལྷ་གཅིག

46. །ཐུབ་ཆེན་ཡེ་ཤེས་སྒྲོལ་མ་ནང་། ། ཐུགས་རྗེ་ཆེན་པོ་མི་གཡོ་བ། ། སྒྲུ་བ་མེད་པའི་མགོན་སྐྱབས་བཞི། ། སྒྲ་བོར་བླངས་ནས་ཕྱག་བཀྲིས། [བཀའ་གདམས་ཕ་ཆོས། ཅ་]

47. The different traditions recording the lineage of Spyan-ras-gzigs are found in *Bkah-gdams-pha-chos*, *Lnga-pa-chen-pohi-mdzad-rnam*, *Klong-rdol gsung hbum* etc. Giuseppe Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Vol. I may be seen.

Sarat Chandra Das in *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (Calcutta 1893;, 1965) presents the current (1880-90) Gelugpa version of Atisa having inspired and Hbrom-ston having founded the Grand Hierarchy (i.e. the lineage of the Dalai Lamas).

For a detailed exposition of the lineage of Spyan-ras-gzig down to Dalai Lama VII, as in a set of painted scrolls from Peking, see Toni Schmid : *Saviours of Mankind* (Stockholm 1961).

48. 'Loyalty to the Dalai Lama' is the subject matter of an elaborate study shortly. It is not capable of presentation within the limits of this paper. Besides brevity is ruled out when ideas and institutions of one language (Tibetan) are expressed in another (English). For a satisfactory account of "The Dalai Lama: His function, his associates and his birth" Marco Pallis had to resort to Sanskrit, Tibetan, Greek and Latin coinage in his *The Way and the Mountain* (London 1960).

It may be noted here that the Tibetan loyalty to the Dalai Lama is deeper - though different in quality - than loyalty

to the national emblem in modern (Western) sense. It is not to be confused with the personality cult which a modern nation sports today.

49. This is little recognized by even the Tibetologists. Helmut Hoffmann in *The Religions of Tibet* (London 1961) is an exception: he makes clear reference to Dalai Lama V's deep interest in Old Sect teachings, pp. 173-4. I have it on the authority of several trustworthy monks and scholars in Central Tibet that Dalai Lama XIII, inspite of the puritan Pha-bong-kha, was most deeply tolerant of Old Sect teachings. This is confirmed by Denzong Gyalyum Kunzang Dechen Tshomo, a daughter of the ancient Ragasha House and a considerable scholar herself.

During my sojourn in Central Tibet thirteen years ago I learned that the present Dalai Lama (XIV) and the present Karmapa Lama (XVI) had developed such friendly relations which reduced the ancient tension between the Gelugpa and the Kargyupa. (The Karmapa lineage began in 1110 while the Gelugpa in 1391).

50. There is a danger in using the terminology of Roman Law in connection with a medieval Asian society as I have shown in *Tibet: Considerations on Inner Asian History* (Calcutta 1967), pp. 19-25. A few Latin expressions are used now with confidence in their suitability.

The Dalai Lama enjoyed absolute homage and allegiance, a plenitude of power which it would be sacrilege for a Tibetan to define. The government called the Heavenly Palace had somewhat limited powers arising from (a) several instruments of executive working as checks and balances and (b) its fundamental weakness of being a Gelugpa oriented "Central Tibet" government. Loyalty to the Dalai Lama as distinct from loyalty to the Heavenly Palace may be illustrated from the Khampa attitude.

It is well known that the tribes of Khams were not law abiding. What is not so well known is that they were not loyal

or submissive to the Heavenly Palace and its agents. While the Khampas had no compunction in robbing the Lhasa gentry and bureaucrats besides refusing to pay taxes, their anxiety to send offerings to the Dalai Lama or to restore robbed baggage found to be Dalai Lama's has gone into legend.

The Chinese (Manchu and Republican) drive to the west and consequent expansion of Inner Tibet (Chinese Tibet) were possible because of the Heavenly Palace's loose hold over Khams, where large blocs of Old Sect believers lived. Khampa nationalist reforms programmes involving both Old Sects and Gelug had early support from the Chinese; this made the Chinese Liberation of Khams easy. George Patterson: *Tibet in Revolt* (London 1960) gives some interesting details.

When the Khampas realized that the Liberation would be completed with the end of their Dharma and Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, they did not wait for the word from the Heavenly Palace. The Khampa revolt (1956-59) was a typical Khampa affair. They crowned their movement with the escorting of the Incarnation into safety (March 1959) and several in the escort party returned to fight and die in typical Khampa fashion.

The Dalai Lama's Flight is rightly prized as a remarkable feat of bravery and organization. The Khampas did it with "tears, blood and sweat". Their loyalty to the Dalai Lama was in inverse ratio to their submission to the Heavenly Palace.

51. །མགོན་པོ་ཁྱོད་ལ་རབ་ཏུ་སྐྱབས་སུ་མཆི། [བཀའ་འགྱུར། མདོ་སྡེ། ཌ་]

52. །མགོན་མེད་འདོ་དག་ང་ཡིས་བསྐྱབ་པོ་ཞེས། [ས་སྐྱ་བཀའ་འབུམ། བ་]

53. भगवा एतदवोच—"इध, महाराज, तथागतो लोके उप्पज्जति अरह, सम्मासम्बुद्धो, विज्जाचरणसम्पन्नो, सुगतो, लोकविदू,

अनुत्तरो, पुरिसदम्मसारथि, सत्था देवमनुस्सानं, बुद्धो, भगवा। सो इमं लोकं सदेवकं समारकं सब्रह्मकं सस्समणब्राह्मणि पजं सदेवमनुस्सं सयं अभिञ्ञा सच्छिकत्वा पवेदेति। सो धम्मं देसेति आदिकल्याणं मज्झेकल्याणं परियोसानकल्याणं सात्थं सब्यञ्जनं, केवलपरिपुण्णं परिसुद्धं ब्रह्मचरियं पकासेति।

दीघनिकायो; पणीततरसामञ्ञफलं।

तदनु येन शाक्यमुनितथागतादिरूपेणासंसारं सर्वलोकधातुषु सत्त्वानां समीहितमर्थं समङ्करोत्यसौ कायःप्रबन्धतयाऽनुतपरतो नैर्माणिको बुद्धस्य भगवतः सर्वबालजनसाधारणश्चतुर्थोऽवसातव्यः। तथा चोक्तम्।

करोति येन चिलाणि हितानि जगतः समम्।
आभवात्सोऽनुपच्छिन्नः कायो नैर्माणिको मुनेः॥ ३३॥

हरिभद्ररचित अभिसमयालङ्कारालोक। पृः ५३२

The extract is made from Giuseppe Tucci's edition (Gaekward Oriental Series). Haribhadra is dated in the eighth century by Haraprasad Shastri and in the tenth century by Maurice Winternitz.

54. यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य ग्लानिर्भवति भारत।
अभ्युत्थानम् अधर्मस्य तदाऽत्मानं सृजाम्यहम्॥ ७॥
परित्राणाय साधूनां विनाशाय च दुष्कृताम्।
धर्मसंस्थापनार्थाय संभवामि युगे युगे॥ ८॥

भगवद्गीता, चतुर्थअध्याय।

55. Giuseppe Tucci : *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Vol I; and Hugh Richardson: The Karmapa Sect in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1958-59 may be seen. The only Mongol invasion (1240) was a petty raid in comparison with invasions elsewhere.

56. See the model letter for Sakya Gongma on page 69 in Tharchin (ed) : *Letter Writers, Kalon Shadra & Kadrong Nornang* (Kalimpong, 1956).

57. The people of Inner Mongolia called the Dalai Lama Skyabs-mgon Mchog perhaps to distinguish him from others (like Panchen or Sakya) also called Skyabs-mgon.

CHHOS SRID GNYIS LDAN

A description of the traditional Tibetan government (1642-1951) was Chhos-srid-gnyis-ldan, that is, one which is possessed of both Dharma (Chhos) and Samsara (Srid). While in organizational sense Chhos-srid-gnyis-ldan meant a dyarchy of clerical and lay elements, in ideological sense it meant a synthesis. In this view Chhos-lug (the norm of Dharma) and hJig-rten-lugs (the norm of Samsara) are complementary components of the mundane norm. Was this concept in accordance with the traditions of Buddhism, Indian and Tibetan? For any discussion of this question, it is essential to underline that the word "religion" is only one and an inadequate rendering of the word Dharma, and that the Tibetan word Chhos expresses the multiple and varied content of the Sanskrit form Dharma.(1)

I

The Brahmanical (Hindu) goal of liberation (Moksha) is to be attained through a balanced pursuit of virtue (Dharma), wealth (Artha) and pleasure (Kama).(2) For the man in society there is no inconsistency between Dharma and Artha or between Dharma and Kama as material well-being is the means for moral endeavour.(3) In Vaiseshika view, material prosperity (Abhyudaya) as well as beatitude (Nihsreyasa) are realized through Dharma.(4) Right from the Vedic times there has been a quest for harmony between the spiritual and and the temporal needs of existence. In time this became the dominant ethos of Brahmanical (Hindu) civilization and had its reflection on the State.

In the Vedic scale of values Dharma was topmost, the pursuit of sacrifices and rituals was superior to that of government and war, and the priest was the kingmaker.(5) This was soon challenged. In the interests of a fruitful existence Rajasastra(science of government) was equated to Dharmasastra: Arthaniti (economics) and Dandaniti (politics) were duly admitted into the category of sublime sciences.(6) It was realized that "when the polity becomes lifeless, the Three Vedas sink and all the Dharmas completely decay".(7) Therefore the custodian of the polity, the Kshatriya Varna, effectively shared the supremacy of the Brahmana Varna. By a complex code of legal fictions the Brahmana perpetuated his first place and continued to be the power behind the throne. There was no stigma for the Brahmana to be engaged in Arthaniti or Dandaniti as the Rajasastra was sublimated into Rajadharma.

> "The Rajadharma is the refuge of the entire world.
> In Rajadharma is found every form of renunciation,
> In Rajadharma is combined every faculty of learning".
>
> *Mahabharata*(8)

These were not altogether idle sentiments or frothy expressions; the ethos for harmony between spiritual and temporal needs created an ideal of philosopher-king (Rajarshi). Chandragupta Maurya, who in his youth beat back the battalions of Seleukos Nikator, ended his days as a Jaina recluse. His grandson Asoka retains the solitary grandeur of a saint-king in the entire history of mankind. In medieval India, Sivaji the Maratha gained the esteem of his people more because of his code of renunciation (Bhagwa Jhanda) than because of his genius in war. When Gandhi in our own time applied the ideal of renunciation in politics he was recalling the traditional polity of India.

An idealistic view of politics as the Rajadharma not only sanctioned the participation in statecraft by the sages and seers: the priests and monks but also summoned the philosophers and priests to a high moral obligation.

II

Buddhism began with a sharp antithesis between Politics and Ethics. The *Brahmajala Sutra* list of the wrong means of livelihood and low arts—that is, the occupations forbidden for the monks and recluses—included Kshatravidya (9) In Buddhist view Kshatravidya involved violence and deceit, parricide and cannibalism; and vivid accounts of such crimes characteristic of the Kshatriya are found in *Mahabodhi Jataka*, *Mahasutosama Jataka* and *Mahaummagga Jataka*.(10) Kshatradharma was in short Mithyajiva.

The Buddhist concept of politics as a dismal science was no doubt due to the wars and intrigues rampant in Shodasa Mahajanapada (sixteen principalities in North India struggling for paramountcy) at the advent of Buddhism; Buddhist ethics (non-violence and quietude) reacted sharply to the Brahmanical statecraft eulogised in the Artha works. This disapproval of Kshatradharma continued into the Mahayana literature and the works of Aryadeva (*Chatuhsataka*), Asvaghosha (*Buddhacharita*) and Aryasura (*Jatakamala*) abound with exposition and condemnation of Kshatra attributes like quest for security (vis-a-vis quietude), attachment to state (vis-a-vis renunciation) or frenzy for fighting (vis-a-vis forbearance) and above all the recourse to unfair means to realize a fair objective (as in Brahmanical works like *Bhagavadgita* where slaughter of kinsmen on the wrong side is not an offence ipso facto). But the Mahayana literature developed a tendency "to justify the application of statecraft within its own sphere".(11)

The reason for this accommodation is not to be traced in the Mahayana literature but in the national ethos which Buddhism could not altogether deny. Budddism had to seek rapprochement between politics and ethics in its own way.

The Buddhist antithesis between politics and ethics was all through involved with a quest for temporal authority sublimated into righteous rule. This syndrome, as it may be described in current Western phraseology, is manifest right from the beginning in the Buddhist diction.

CHAKRA and CHAKRAVARTI, SASANA and SASTA are expressions fraught with temporal implications. 'Chakra' is the symbol of power of a dynamic (victorious) ruler while 'Chakravarti' is the world ruler. 'Sasana' is common to Dharma as well as Danda while 'Sasta' is master either as teacher or ruler. Before the Buddha, the term 'Sangha' was more used to denote occupational and political groups and less for a body of religieux. When eventually Sangha became "the foremost Gana" it was the Bauddha Sangha: It was then an active participant in social, economic and even political affairs. The Sangha, as the Third Jewel, did not accept Varna or Asrama: it was a corporation partly patterned on the oligarchic republics.(12)

Buddhist hostility to the Varnasrama had the best and the most significant expression in its attitude to the Kshatriya Varna. The Buddhist Book of Genesis, *Agganna Sutta*, records the Buddha's discourse about the creation of social order. It is a highly scientific enquiry into the early history of man: the Buddha's accounts about origin of property and election of king amazingly anticipate the Western philosophers of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this discourse while the monks and recluses are acclaimed as the best of men, the Kshatriya is considered the best of the social classes and the Brahmana is placed second.

The people, according to this discourse, fixed their choice for king on the most handsome and capable individual and called him Mahasammata (one who is chosen by the multitude), Kshatriya (one who is lord of Kshetra or fields) and Raja (one who gratifies others according to Dharma); peers of this man came to be called Kshatriya. Next came the Brahmana or the class engaged in Dhyana (meditation) and Adhyayana (teaching the sacred texts), then the Vaisya or the class engaged in trades and last the Sudra or the class engaged in hunting and such low occupations.

The Buddha concluded his discourse thus:(13)

The Kshatriya is the best among this folk
Who put their trust in lineage.

But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed
Is best of all among spirits and men.
(trans. Rhys Davids)

The precedence of the Kshatriya over the Brahmana was consistently followed in later literature (e.g. Vasubandhu: *Abhidharmakosha* and Buddhaghosha: *Visuddhimagga*) and duly incorporated into Tibetan canon. The crux of the sentiment was however not the precedence over the Brahmana but the Kshatriya title to reign. Otherwise a democratic order open to merchants, courtesans and untouchables would not be so enthusiastic about Kshatriya birth of the Buddha. Nor would the Bhikshus and Sramanas anxiously record the Kshatriya origins of Asoka without such consideration.

While the Brahmanical works like the *Puranas* and *Mudrarakshasa* describe the Mauryas as Sudras, the Buddhist works like *Mahaparinibbana Sutta*, *Divyavadana* and *Mahavamsa* meticulously record details in support of the Kshatriya ancestry of the Mauryas. (14) It is not unlikely that the Mauryas were not good Kshatriyas in Brahmanical view; Chandragupta the founder of the Maurya Empire had no inhibition to enter into matrimonial alliance with the Yavana (Greek) nor did he perform the Asvamedha sacrifice. The Brahmanical esteem for Chandragupta was based on an admiration for the low-born who rose to the purple through sheer merit while the Buddhist description of Asoka's father as Raja Kshatriya Murdhabhishiktah (an annointed Kshatriya king) was to affirm the Maurya entitlement to sovereignty.

The emphasis on the Kshatriya birth was so deep that even after Nirvana the Buddha was honoured as a Kshatriya. King Milinda, identified with the Bactrian King Menander, is known to have asked Sthavira Nagasena thus: "If Nagasena, the Blessed One were a Brahmana then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a king. But if he were a king then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a Brahmana. He must have been either a Kshatriya or a Brahmana. For he could not have belonged in the same birth to two castes. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you which you have to solve". (trans. Rhys Davids)

The sage was indeed on the horns of a dilemma and had to direct his logic to the common feature between 'a true Brahmana' and 'a true Kshatriya'. Both are righteous beings: one is Emancipated and Enlightened through practice of righteousness and the other establishes himself and his dynasty through righteous rule.(15)

While any theological contradiction between a Buddha and a Raja was thus solved, Nagasena's answer lifted the Kshatradharma from the level of Mithyajiva (wrong means of-livelihood) to that of Sila (morality). Nagasena's equation, however unintended, was a logical sequence of the legends about the Buddha's birth. An Immaculate Being was to be born and all prognostications from Maya's dream till the sage Asita's visit concurred that the Immaculate Being was to be either a Chakravarti Raja (Universal Sovereign) or a Samyak Sambuddha (Fully Enlightened).

Thus the edification of monarchy or the sublimation of statecraft in Mahayana literature was a continuation of the tradition expounded by Nagasena. In Mahayana thought the king was Dharmaraja and not unoften Bodhisattva. The climax was reached in *Suvarnaprabhasa Sutra* which depicted the king as Devaputra. The Buddha's discourse about elective kingship yielded ground to Manu's divine creation. The Kshatriya now possessed an aura of divinity.(16)

Kshatriya-hood or royalty was merit worthy of a Bodhisattva. The greatest of Indian saints propagating in Tibet were born in the purple; Santarakshita, Padmasambhava and Atisa had renounced their temporal heritage to tread the trail of the Buddha. The Kshatriya origins of these teachers, not less than that of the Buddha and Asoka, made due impression on the Tibetan mind. The Tibetans could comprehend Kshatriya-Brahmana equation of Nagasena from the living examples of the Indian masters preaching on the spot.

States with Buddhism as 'established church' were few, if any, in India and not much is on record about the matters of Church and State. The fact of Sramana/Brahmana parti-

cipation in state business is however known. Far from being a taboo such participation was a norm. When Buddhism was migrating across the Himalayas, both Buddhist and Brahamanical traditions had accepted Sramana/Brahmana as the foundation of the state.

It will not be out of place to quote here a French scholar (Paul Masson-Oursel) about the destiny of the Indian concepts of state.

"....the Brahmanic notion of *dharma* which implies the special constitution of each caste and maintains a social order rather than it encourages the appearance of a political spirit, and the Buddhist notion of *dharma*, which aims at a law applicable to all mankind and makes for unlimited imperialism. The one conception stands short of monarchy, the other leaps beyond it and aspires to world empire....." (17)

Certain flaws in the above proposition are pointed out by the leading Indian authority on the subject, Professor Upendra Nath Ghoshal.(18) The broad conclusion however stands firm that the state in Buddhism could be more sovereign than its counterpart in Brahmanism.

If the Buddhist notion of Dharma facilitated the growth of state authority this must have been so in the interest of the Dharma. The Sangha as a body or through individual members would thus have no inhibition about Kshatravidya (science of government).

III

"In Tibet Buddhist monks had the same rights as the laymen to be appointed state officials, both military and civil".

Yuan Shih, trans. Tucci (19)

This statement, from the Chinese chronicle about the 'barbarian' dynasty (Mongol: Yuan), has an element of surprise since the monks (particularly the Buddhist monks) could not be in the government of the Celestial Empire nor could they ever share power with the Confucian literati. When the Mongols made Tibet a part of their Empire, the

monks of Sakya and Kargyu sects were active participants in the politics of their country; Lamas sharing power with the secular nobles was already a tradition. Qubilai Khan, resident in Khan Balyk (later called Peking), had to reckon with "the vastness, distance and difficulties of that region inhabitated by a wild and war-like population" and "decided to rule it in accordance with local usage so as to subdue the people".(20) The acceptance of "local usage"—of having Buddhist monks as state officials—was an imperative need of the Mongol imperialism as these quotes from the *Yuan Shih* bear out.

Therefore the jurisdiction of the Buddhist monks holding temporal offices has to be sought not in the 'civilized' code of the Celestial Empire but in the 'barbarian' tradition of Tibet.

The accepted date for first propagation of Buddhism in Tibet is about the first quarter of the seventh century and that for the ordination of Tibetan monks is about the last quarter of the eighth century. The Dge-hdun (Sangha) was an established fact by about c 800; its activities were confined within the walls of the monasteries; the monks were organizing the schools and advising the kings. When king Glang-dar-ma's persecution of Buddhism reached its height, a monk assassinated the apostate (c.842). The regicide was an act of piety for the monk and an act of redemptive compassion to the king. Persecuted people recalled the injunction of the scriptures about redress from distress (*Sarvadurgatiparishodhana*): Forbearance and meditation cannot to be practised while harm is done to the Three Gems and the Spiritual Teachers are endangered.(21)

On the decline of the Central dynasty and the break-up of the country into numerous principalities, the abbots of big monasteries exercised law and order in their respective localities. This became a normal feature long before the advent of the Mongols. Meanwhile Indian works on the role of Brahmana/Sramana were under study; all these texts were not strictly canonical but were found worthy of incorporation into Tanjur. One such was *Rajanitisastra* attribu-

ted to Chanakya; the translator was Rinchhen Bzangpo, the great monk-scholar who marked the regeneration of Buddhism in Tibet and collaborated with Atisa. Four successive verses of the Tibetan version (Chapter VIII) describing the limbs of society emphasize the parity between the ruler (rgyal-po) and the monk/priest (dge-sbyong/bram-ze).

> The king is the summit of Chhos
> The monk/priest is the root
> The root bears the fruit
> Thus the root may not be hurt.
>
> The king is the fruit of Chhos
> The monk/priest is the flower
> The flower bears the fruit
> Thus the flower may not be damaged.
>
> The king is the tree and the monk is the root
> The ministers are the branches and the people the leaves
>
> If the root is preserved the tree does not perish
> The monk/priest has thus to be well preserved.
>
> All (interests/estates) being dependent on each other
> The king preserves the monk.
> The Chhos, wealth and fame are attained
> When the monk is ever preserved.(22)

These words not only affirmed the high status of the monk but also advised a patron-priest relationship between king and monk in the total interest of Chhos.

The Tibetan kings responsible for propagation of Buddhism, appropriately designated as Dharmaraja (Chhos-rgyal) and later recalled in Mongolia as Chakravarti, no doubt practised patron-priest relationship. The regicide (c.842) and the sequel created a new situation and the priest had to take a larger and more direct part in temporal affairs. In the 13th century, when the Mongol Emperors and the Sakya Lamas formed patron-priest relations, the monks were more than priests and had added statecraft to their routine. The Sakya Lamas categorically approved such conduct as in the interests of Chhos.(23)

The Sakya Pandita (c 1182-1251) made the famous pronouncement that mastery of the acts of this world (hjig-rten-bya-ba) led to the path of the Sacred Doctrine. His nephew Chhos-rgyal hPhags-pa (c 1235-1280) when accused of secular (Mongol) style of dress answered thus. 'The Buddha had predicted the rise and fall of the Doctrine (according to exigencies of time): the happiness of the people would depend on their own Karma (and not on the style of dress): one (Lama) must behave (preach) in a way that suits (wins over) the other (devotee)'. This elastic conduct (hdul-ba) no doubt earned dividends. *Rgya-bod-yig-tshang* sums up thus: 'Under the auspices of the Patron (Qubilai) and the Priest (Chhos-hphags) the riches of Mongolia and China made Tibet the centre of the Sacred Doctrine'.

About the administrative system during the Priest-Patron Regime the same work says: 'Tibet was happy and the Sacred Doctrine glittered like a mirror because of the Two Laws the Lama's Command and Emperor's Rule'.(24) As there were two sets of laws—one for the Lha-sde (domain of the church) and one for the Mi-sde (domain of the state)—there were two sets of officials (monk and lay) not necessarily working exclusive of each other. The monks and the nobles were closely connected and there could not be any absolute separation between spiritual and temporal estates. Besides the Lamas held a good number of civil posts. The apex, the Sakya hierarch, was the meeting point of both ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions.(25) Here was a government possessed of both Chhos (Dharma) and Srid (Samsara).

The contemporary Mongol chroniclers noticed "the succession of Indian and Tibetan traditions" in "the principle of dual government".(26) The Mongol bias to affiliate much of Lamaist theories and institutions to India is well known. While the germs of Chhos-srid-gnyis-ldan may be traced to Indian thought, its practical application is no doubt a phenomenon of Tibetan history. While Indian scriptures contain sanction for the Sangha to engage itself in Rajadharma, Indian history had no institutional precedent for Tibet.

NOTES

1. I have discussed the translation of Dharma into Chhos in *Tibet: Considerations on Inner Asian History* (Calcutta 1967), pp.49-54.

2. धर्मार्थकामाः सममेव सेव्याः यो हि एकसक्तः स जनो जघन्य ।।

3. शरीरम् आद्यम् खलु धर्मसाधनम् ।

4. यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः सः धर्मः ।

5. The kingpin of the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* Book of Genesis (Bk I, Ch IV) is the role Brahmana and Dharma.

   Macdonell : *Vedic Index*, entry on Purohita and Keith: *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Harvard Oriental Series), pp.223-230 & 289-99 describe the ascendancy of priestly houses. For Brahmana as the kingmaker see K.P. Jayaswal : *Hindu Polity* (Calcutta 1924/Bangalore 1943), Chs XXIII-XXV; A.K. Coomaraswamy : *Spiritual Authority and Temporal Power in the Indian Theory of Government* (New Haven 1942); and U.N. Ghoshal : *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Calcutta 1965), pp.211-236.

6. For Brahmanical (Hindu) attitudes to political science and statecraft see U.N. Ghoshal : *A History of Indian Political Ideas* (Oxford 1959) and P.V. Kane: *History of Dharmasastra* (Poona 1930-62), Vol III, Chs I & X.

7. मज्जेत् लयौ दण्डनीतौ हतायाँ सर्वे धर्माः प्रक्षयेयुर्विवृद्धाः।

8. सर्वस्य जीवलोकस्य राजधर्मः परायनम् ॥
सर्वे त्यागाः राजधर्मेषु दृष्टाः ।
सर्वे दीक्षाः राजधर्मेषु युक्ताः ।
सर्वे विद्याः राजधर्मेषु चोक्ताः ।
सर्वे लोकाः राजधर्मेषु प्रविष्टाः ॥

9. ब्रह्मजालसुत्त, दीघनिकाय ।
Eng. Trans. in Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha* (Pali Text Society 1921/1956), Pt. I, p.18.

10. Eng. Trans. in Cowell: *The Jatakas* (Pali Text Society 1895/1957), Stories nos. 528, 537 & 546.

11. Ghoshal locates an instance in *Jatakamala* of Arysasura; *Indian Political Ideas* (cited under note 6 above), pp.339-41.

12. See Gokuldas De: *Democracy in Early Buddhist Sangha* (Calcutta 1956) and Ghoshal : *Indian History & Culture* (cited under note 5 above), pp. 260-65.

13. खत्तियो सेट्ठो जनेतस्मिं, ये गोत्तपटिसारिनो ।
विज्जाचरणसम्पन्नो, सो सेट्ठो देवमानुसे ति ॥
अग्गञ्ञसुत्त, दीघनिकाय।
Eng. Trans. in Rhys Davids: *Dialogues*, Pt III,

14. The conflicting opinions about the ancestry of the Mauryas may be read in Hara Prasad Sastri's paper in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1910 and Hemchandra Raychaudhuri: *Political History of Ancient India* (Calcutta 1953), pp.194,266-8 & 355-6.

15. Eng. Trans. in Rhys Davids: *The Questions of King Milinda* (Sacred Books of the East), Dilemma no 48. William Tarn.: *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge 1938/1951) holds that Menander was not a Buddhist but contends on numismatic evidence that Menander proclaimed himself a Chakravarti in a Buddhist manner (pp.263-68). Ghoshal: *Indian Political Ideas*, p.303., note 9 and A.K. Narain: *The Indo-*

Greeks (Oxford 1957), p.98 reject this. In my submission the Chakra on Menander's coin could symbolize either Dharma or Danda and possibly did symbolize both. To substantiate this, it is not necessary to answer whether Menander was a Buddhist in a denominational sense or whether Menander could have claimed Dharmavijaya. I contend that Chakra is common to both Buddha (Brhamana) and Chakravarti (Kshatriya). Nagasena's Brahmana-Kshatriya equation could have no better motif for a coin or an ensign than Chakra.

16. An exhaustive and critical note on the epithet Devaputra is found in the contribution by F.W. Thomas to *B.C. Law Volume*, Part II (Poona 1946). The usage, according to Thomas, may be traced back to Nagarjuna's time. Re: Devaputra as Kushana title, Raychaudhuri rightly insists on Chinese and Greek influence, *Political History*, pp.518-9. Divine Right was much in the air; the Brahmana and the Saka-Yavana no doubt communicated the new fangled concept to the Bauddha engaged in exaltation of the Kshatriya.

As the Brahmanical theorists had to formulate Divine Creation in accordance with the Brahmanical notion of Deva, the Buddhist theorists had to respect the Buddhist notion of Deva. The Mahayana world of gods (Devaloka) is a kingdom ruled by Indra and 32 'royal gods'; this assembly of 33 Devarajendra recalls oligarchic republics like Sakya or Lichchavi. Thus the Raja according to *Suvarnaprabhasottama Sutra*, was a Devaputra, made up of the contributions of Indra and his 32 colleagues. Ghoshal finds this an adaptation of Manu's Divine Creation of the temporal ruler out of the essences of the Regents of the Quarters, *Indian Political Ideas*, p.262.

कथं मनुष्यसंभूतो राजा देवस्तु प्रोच्यते ।
केन च हेतुना राजा देवपुत्रस्तु प्रोच्यते ॥
अपि वै देवसंभूतो देवपुत्रः स उच्यते ।

त्रयस्त्रिंशैः देवराजन्द्रैः भागो दत्तो नृपस्य हि ।
पुत्रस्त्वं सर्वदेवानां निर्मितो मनुजेश्वरः ॥

The origin of Devaputra was indeed most high; the word Nirmita suggests Nirmanakaya; a Nirmana-kaya containing features of more tham one Deva or Bodhisattva has well-known significance; Deveputra is the quintessence of the Divine Royalty in its totality. The numerous character of the progenitor (33) or the legend of 10,000 Devaputras does not suggest a numerous class of minor deities as Thomas thinks; in Mahayana myriads of Bodhisattvas are usual. It is not warranted to equate Devaputra with minor deities (like the Dikpala) or with kinglets (like those of Kucha-Khotan). The suffix 'putra' is not demeaning. Manjusri Kumarabhuta is more beloved than Manjusri. Either form Jina (Buddha) or Jinaputra (Buddhaputra) may be used to describe a saint or a hierarch as I have experienced in the monasteries of Tibet. Franklin Edgerton regards Devaputra as a synonym of Deva, *Dictionary of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*. In the above extract from *Suvaranaprabhasa* both forms Deva and Devaputra are used. Devaputra, in my submission, is not a title characteristic of local or minor kings and whoever sported this title was no doubt claiming divinity. Devaputra is not an elective ruler and has divine title, possibly of pluralistic origin (Greek, Iranian, Chinese, Hsiung Nu and Brahmanic).

The point for notice is the apotheosis of the Kshatriya, that is, the progress from popular contract to divine status. In *Agganna Sitta* the Kshatriya is Mahasammata. In *Visuddhimagga* (अभिञ्ञा–निद्देसः पुब्बेनिवासानुस्सति) the first Kshatriya is none else than Bhagavan Bodhisattva (Gautama Siddhartha). In *Suvarnaprabhasa* the Raja, though born of mortal parents, is Devanirmita.

17. Masson-Oursel, Willman-Grabowska & Stern: *Ancient India and Indian Civilization* (History of Civilization Series, London 1934/1951), pp.93-97.

18. Ghoshal: *Indian Political Ideas* pp.73, 214 & 220.

19. Giuseppe Tucci: *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome 1949), p.31.

In 1368 the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty in China was overthrown and succeeded by a native (Ming) dynasty. In the beginning of 1369 Emperor Tai-tsu, founder of the Ming dynasty, ordered the court to compile the official history (Shih) of the Yuan. Sixteen Yuan scholars worked on the Yuan documents and completed the the work in a year; the work was supervised by the Emperor himself. The *Yuan-Shih* preserves a valuable record of Tibet and Tibetan government during the Mongol (Yuan) perod.

[Ignorant of the language I owe my knowledge of Chinese historiography t) the works of Charles Gardner, Carrington Goodrich and Lien-Shen Yang. Beaseley and Pulleyblank (ed): *Historians of China and Japan* (London 1961) contain on pp.44-59 a critique of the annals from the Tang to the Ming from the pen of Lien-Shen Yang.]

20. Tucci: op. cit., p. 31.

21. །དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་གནོད་བྱེད་དང་། །ཆུ་མ་སྨོད་བྱེད་མ་རྒྱབས་པ། །དམ་ཆོག་ལས་ནི་འདས་པ་དང་། །དེ་ལ་ཕོགས་པའི་གནོད་བྱེད་ལ། །བཟོད་པ་བསྒོམ་པར་མི་བྱ་སྟེ། །དེ་ལྟར་གྱུར་ན་ཀུན་རིག་གིས། །གསུངས་པའི་དངོས་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར།

[བཀའ་འགྱུར། ཀུན་འབྱུམ། ཏ་]

།དགོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་ལ་གནོད་བྱེད་དང་། །ཆུ་མ་སྨོད་བྱེད་མ་རྒྱབས་རྣམས། །དམ་ཆོག་འདས་ལ་བཟོད་མི་བྱ།

[བཀའ་འགྱུར། ཀུན་འབྱུམ། ཏ]

22. །ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྩེ་མོ་རྒྱལ་པོ་སྟེ། ། ཆོས་རྫ་དགེ་སློང་བྱམ་ཆེ་ཡིན།
། རྫ་བ་ལས་ནི་འབྱས་བུ་སྟེ། ། དེ་བས་རྫ་བ་གནད་མི་བྱ།

། ཆོས་ཀྱི་འབྱས་བུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིན། ། མེ་དོག་དགེ་སློང་བྱམ་ཆེ་ཡིན།
། མེ་དོག་ལས་ནི་འབྱས་བུ་སྟེ། ། དེ་ཕྱིར་མེ་དོག་ལ་མི་གཅོ།

། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཤིང་དེ་དགེ་སློང་རྫ་བ་ཡིན། ། ཏྲི་པོ་ཡལ་གཱ་གྲོང་མི་
འདབ་མ་ཡིན། ། རྫ་བ་བསྡུང་ན་ཤིང་དེ་མི་ཉམས་པ། ། དེ་ཕྱིར་
དགེ་སློང་བྱམ་ཆེ་ལེགས་པར་བསྡུང་།

། ཐམས་ཅད་གཞན་ལ་རག་ལས་གྱུར་ཀྱང་ནི། ། མི་ཡི་དབང་པོས་
དགེ་སློང་བྱམ་ཆེ་བསྡུང་། ། ཆོས་དང་ནོར་དང་གྲོགས་དང་སྙན་
པ་དག ། དགེ་སློང་བྱམ་ཆེ་ལེགས་པར་བསྡུངས་ལས་འཕྲོ།།

[བསྟན་འགྱུར། སྡེ་ཚོགས། ངོ]

23. ། འཇིག་རྟེན་བྱ་བ་ལེགས་ཤེས་ནི། ། དེ་ཡི་རམ་པའི་ཆོས་ལྟ་འགྱུར།
། དེས་ན་ཆོས་ལྟགས་སློབ་པ་དེ། ། བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་པའི་རྣམ་ཐར་ཡིན།

[ས་སྐྱ་བཀའ་འབུམ། ཐ]

། བསྟན་ལ་འཕེལ་འགྱིབ་འབྱུང་བ་རྒྱལ་བས་གསུངས། ། སེམས་ཅན་
བདེ་སྐྱིད་རང་རང་ལས་ལ་རག ། གང་ལ་གང་འདུལ་དེ་ལ་དེ་ཁྱོན་བྱེད།
། འདི་གསུམ་མ་གཏོགས་མཁས་པ་མིན་པར་གོ།།

[དཔལ་ས་སྐྱའི་གདུང་རབས་ཆེན་མོ།]

24. ། འགྲོ་མགོན་ ཆོས་ ཀྱི་ རྒྱལ་པོས་ གོ་པེ་ལ ཆོས་ཀྱི་ རྒྱལ་པོར་ བྱིན་གྱིས་
བརླབས་ནས། ནོར་དང་ རྒྱ་ནག་ གི་འབྱོར་པ་ ཆེན་པོས་ས་སྐྱས་

མགོ་བྱས། བོད་ཡུལ་འདིར་བསྟན་པའི་མཐེལ་ཡོད་ས་ཡོན་མཆོད་
འདི་གཉིས་ཀྱི་བཀའ་དྲིན་ཡིན་པར་གདའ།།

[ཀུ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་།]

།ཆུ་མའི་བཀའ་དང་ཆུལ་པོ འི་ལུང་བཞིན་དུ།
།ཁྲིམས་གཉིས་བསྐྱངས་པས་ཆུལ་ཁམས་བདེ་བ་དང་།
།བསྟན་པའི་གསལ་ཕྱིད་བྱུར་པའང་བྱུང་བ་སྟོང་།

[ཀུ་བོད་ཡིག་ཚང་།]

25. A description of the Sakya administrative system is not called for here. Chinese and Mongol chronicles besides Tibetan literature provide data for considerable study. Tucci: op. cit., pp.31-39 may be seen for a brief notice.
Extracts from two Chinese state papers may be made in corroboration of the Tibetan claims about equality in status between the Mongol Emperor and the Sakya Lama.

The official history (*Yuan Shih*), compiled immediately after the overthrow of the Yuan, states: "The orders of the Ti-shih, Imperial Master (Sakya Lama), and of the Emperor were equally valid in Tibet. For a hundred years the Emperors showed the greatest respect and confidence for the Imperial Master. The Empresses and all princes took the vow and used to salute the Imperial Master, kneeling to receive his blessing. In the Court gathering, when the different officials took place allotted according to their rank, the Imperial Master sat next to the Emperor. Each Emperor on ascending the throne publicly addressed a message of praise and protection to the Imperial Master". (trans. Tucci).

The Manchu Emperor Chien-lung in his famous Dissertation on Lamaism, inscribed in 1792 on a marble

stele in Yung-ho-kung (the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking), said: "During the Yuan dynasty the Lamas were worshipped in a way that interfered with the government. This led to abuses which no one dared to question. For instance decrees given by the Teacher of the Emperor had the same force as the decrees emanating from the Court. At official audiences, while all the officials had to stand at places assigned to them according to rank, the Teacher of the Emperor alone was allowed to remain seated in his place of honour in the corner. His disciples bore titles such as Minister of Interior, Minister of Finance, Duke of the Empire. There was an unbroken succession of them who carried seals of jade or gold. Presuming on their prestige they carried themselves haughtily and ostentatiously which resulted everywhere in great vexations difficult to describe here exhaustively". Eng. trans. in F.D. Lessing: *Yong-ho-kung* (Stockholm 1942), p. 59.

The inference is unavoidable that the Patron-Priest relations between the Mongol Emperor and the Tibetan Teacher did not much affect the authority (? sovereignty) of the Teacher in the Teacher's homeland.

26. Cyben Zamcarano: *The Mongol Chronicles of the Seventeenth Century* (Wiesbaden 1955), pp. 50-55 may be seen for an account of the Mongol *White Annals* containing contemporary impression of the Sakya tradition.

Re: the Two Laws as in Tibetan and Mongol literary traditions a student of Comparative Politics will no doubt point to the medieval Christian doctrine of the Two Swords, Spiritual and Temporal. I am not firm about the relevance of the parallel. An interested reader will find an authoritative statement on the Christian doctrine of the Two Swords in Otto Gierke: *Political Theories of the Middle Age* (Cambridge University Press 1900; reprint 1958). Also Michael Wilks: *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1963).

APPENDIX

The three excerpts from Pali literature contain several Pali words, Dhamma (for Dharma), Khattiya (for Kshatriya), Vessa (for Vaisya), Sudda (for Sudra), Jhana (for Dhyana), Ajjhayaka (for Adhayaka). Being faithful literal translation several words stand for doctrinal matters.

The first excerpt establishes the superiority of the occupation which involves governance and defence and places the Kshatriya as the topmost caste.

The second excerpt attributes the essence of the occupation of priests and teachers to the Kshatriya and entitles the Kshatriya to be Brahmana.

The third excerpt affirms that the occupation of Brhamana is not exclusive to the Brahmana by birth.

BUDDHIST BOOK OF GENESIS

—Origin of State & Caste—

(Digha Nikaya: Agganna Sutta, trans. Rhys Davids)

Then those beings, Vasettha, gathered themselves and bewailed this, saying: Evil customs, sirs, have appeared among men. For in the past, we were made of mind, we fed on rapture, self-luminous, we traversed the air in abiding loveliness; long long the period we so remained. For us sooner or later, after a long long while the savoury earth had arisen over the waters. Colour it had, and odour and taste. We set to work to make the earth into lumps, and feast on it. As we did so our self-luminance vanished away. When it was gone moon and sun became manifest, star-shapes and constellations, night and day, the months and half-months, the seasons and the years. We enjoying the savoury earth, feeding on it, nourished by it, continued so for a long long while. But since evil and immoral customs became rife among us, the savoury earth disappeared. When it had ceased outgrowth of the soil became manifest, clothed with colour, odour and taste. Them we began to enjoy; and fed and nourished thereby, we continued so for a long long while. But when evil and immoral customs arose among us, these outgrowths disappeared. When they had vanished, creepers appeared

clothed with colour, odour and taste. Them we turned to enjoy; and fed and nourished thereby we continued so for a long long while. But since evil and immoral customs became prevalent among us, the creepers also disappeared. When they had ceased rice appeared, ripening in open spaces, without powder, without husk, pure, fragrant and clean grained. Where we plucked and took away for the evening meal every evening, there next morning it had grown ripe again. Where we plucked and took away for the morning meal, there in the evening it had grown ripe again. There was no break visible. Enjoying this rice, feeding on it, nourished by it, we have so continued a long long while. But from evil and immoral customs becoming manifest among us, powder has enveloped the clean grain, husk too has enveloped the clean grain, and where we have reaped is no re-growth; a break has come, and the rice-stubble stands in clumps. Come now, let us divide off the rice fields and set boundaries thereto. And so they divided off the rice and set up boundaries round it.

Now some being, Vasettha, of greedy disposition, watching over his own plot, stole another plot and made use of it. They took him and holding him fast, said: Truly, goode being, thou hast wrought evil in that, while watching thine own plot, thou hast stolen another plot and made use of it. See good being, that thou do not such a thing again. Ay, sirs, he replied. And a second time he did so. And yet a third. And again they took him and admonished him. Some smote him with the hand, some with clods, some with sticks. With such a beginning, Vasettha, did stealing appear, and censure and lying and punishment became known.

Now those beings, Vasettha, gathered themselves together, and bewailed these things, saying: From our evil deeds, sirs, becoming manifest, inasmuch as stealing, censure, lying, punishment have become known, what if we were to select a certain being, who should be wrathful when indignation is right, who should censure that which should rightly be censured and should banish him who deserves to be banished? But we will give him in return a proportion of the rice.

Then, Vasettha, those beings went to the being among them who was the handsomest, the best favoured, the most attractive, the most capable and said to him: Come now, good being, be indignant at that whereat one should rightly be indignant, censure that which should rightly be censured, banish him who deserves to be banished. And we will contribute to thee a proportion of our rice.

And he consented, and did so, and they gave him a proportion of their rice.

Chosen by the whole people, Vasettha, is what is meant by Maha Sammata; so Maha Sammata (the Great Elect) was the first standing phrase to arise (for such an one). Lord of the Fields is what is meant by Khattiya; so Khattiya (Noble) was the next expression to arise. He charms the others by the Norm—by what ought (to charm)—is what is meant by Raja; so this was the third standing phrase to arise.

Thus then, Vasettha, was the origin of this social cricle of the Nobles, according to the ancient primordial phrases (by which they were known). Their origin was from among those very beings, and no others; like unto themselves, not unlike; and it took place according to the Norm (according to what ought to be, justly) not unfittingly.

For, Vasettha.

> The norm's the best among this folk
> Both in this world and in the next.

Now it occurred, Vasettha, to some of those beings, as follows: Evil deeds, sirs, have become manifest among us, inasmuch as stealing, censure, lying, punishment can be noticed, and banishment. Let us now put away from us evil and immoral customs. And they put away from them such customs. They put away (bahenti) evil, immoral customs, Vasettha, is what is meant by Brahmins, and thus was it that Brahmins became the earliest standing phrase (for those who did so). They, making leaf huts in woodland spots, meditated therein.

Extinct for them the burning coal, vanished the smoke, fallen lies pestle and mortar; gathering of an evening for the evening meal, of a morning for the morning meal, they go down into village and town and royal city, seeking food. When they have gotten food, back again in their leafhuts they meditate. When men saw this, they said. These good beings, having made unto themselves leafhuts in the forest region, meditate therein. For them burning coal is extinct, smoke is known no more, pestle and mortar have fallen from their hands; they gather of an evening for the evening meal, of a morning for the morning meal, and go down into village and town and royal city seeking food. When they have gotten food, back again in their leaf-huts they meditate. They meditate (jhayanti), Vasettha, is what is meant by the brooding one (jhayaka). Thus was it that this was the second phrase that arose.

Now certain of those beings, Vasettha, being incapable of enduring this meditation in forest leaf-huts, went down and settled on the outskirts of villages and towns, making books. When men saw this, they said: These good beings being incapable of enduring meditation in forest leaf-huts, have gone down and settled on the outskirts of villages and towns, and there they make books. But they cannot meditate. Now, These meditate not, Vasettha, is what is meant by Ajjhayaka (repeaters, viz., of the Vedas).

Thus this third phrase for such people came into use. At that time they were looked upon as the lowest; now they are thought the best.

Such then, Vasettha, according to the ancient, yea, primordial, expression by which they were known, was the origin of this social circle of the Brahmins. Their origin was from just those beings (above referred to); beings like unto themselves, not unlike; (and it took place) according to the Norm (according to what ought to be, justly) not unfittingly.

For, Vasettha,

> The norm's the best among this folk
> Both in this life and in the next.

Now, Vasettha, there were some others of those beings who, adopting the married state, set on foot various trades. That they, adopting the married state, set on foot various (vissa) trades is, Vasettha, the meaning of vessa (tradesfolk). So this word came into use as a standing expression for such people. The origin, Vasettha, of the social group called the Vessas was in accordance with this ancient, yea, primordial designation. It was from just those beings (above described), beings like unto themselves, not unlike. And it took place in accordance with the Norm (according to what ought to be, justly) not unfittingly.

For, Vasettha,

> The norm's the best among this folk,
> Both in this life and in the next.

Now, Vasettha, those of these beings that remained over took to hunting. But those that live on hunting, and suchlike trifling pursuits, is what is meant by Sudda (the lowest grade of folk). Thus then, according to the ancient, yea, primordial expression, is the origin of this social group called Suddas. Their origin was from just those beings (above described), beings like unto themselves, not unlike; (and it took place) according to the Norm, (according to what ought to be) not unfittingly, namely, from those who were not different from other beings, but like them, not unlike them, by a norm and not through lack of norm.

For, Vasettha,

> The norm's the best among this folk,
> Both in this life and in the next.

Now there came a time, Vasettha, when some Khattiya, misprizing his own norm, went forth from home into the homeless life, saying: I will become a recluse. Some Brahmin too did the same, likewise some Vessa and some Sudda, each finding some fault in his particular norm. Out of these four groups or circles, Vasettha, the company of the recluses came into being. Their origin was from just these beings like unto

themselves, not different. And it took place according to a norm (a fitness, justly), not unfittingly.

For, Vasettha,

> The norm's the best among this folk,
> Both in this life and in the next.

Now a khattiya, Vasettha, who has led a bad life, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are wrong, will, in consequence of his views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death in the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Downfall, Purgatory. And a Brahmin too....a Vessa too....a Sudda too, who has led a bad life, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are wrong, will, in consequence of his views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death in the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Downfall, Purgatory.

Again, Vasettha, a Khattiya .... or Brahmin .... or Vessa .... or Sudda, who has led a good life, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are as they should be, will, in consequence of his views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death in a happy, bright world.

Again, Vasettha, a Khattiya ..... a Brahmin, too .... a Vessa, too; .... a Sudda, too, who has lived a life both good and bad, in deed, word and thought, whose views of life are mixed, will, in consequence of his mixed views and deeds, when the body breaks up, be reborn after death suffering both happiness and unhappiness.

Again, Vasettha, a Khattiya .... a Brahmin, too .... a Vessa, too .... a Sudda, too, who is self-restrained in deed, word and thought, and has followed after the practice of the seven principles which are the Wings of Wisdom, attains to complete extinction (of evil) in this present life.

For, Vasettha, whosoever of these Four classes becomes, as a bhikkhu, an arahant, who has destroyed the intoxicants, who has done that which it behoved him to do, who has laid

down the burden, who has won his own salvation, who has wholly destroyed the fetter of re-becoming, who through knowledge made perfect is free,—he is declared chief among them, in virtue of a norm, not in the absence of a norm. For, Vasettha,

> The norm's the best among this folk,
> Both in this life and in the next.

Now this verse, Vasettha, was spoken by Brahma, the Eternal Youth:

> The Khattiya is the best among this folk
> Who put their trust in lineage.
> But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed
> Is best of all among spirits and men.

Now this stanza, Vasettha, was well sung and not ill sung by Brahma the Eternal Youth, well said and not ill said, full of meaning and not void thereof. I too, Vasettha, say:

> The Khattiya is the best among this folk
> Who put their trust in lineage.
> But one in wisdom and in virtue clothed
> Is best of all 'mong spirits and men.

Thus spake the Exalted One. Pleased at heart Vasettha and Bharadvaja rejoiced in what the Exalted One had said.

[Extracted from T.W. & C.A.F. Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha* (Pali Text Society 1899-1921). Recent reprint is from Luzac (London).

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THE BRAHMANA KSHATRIYA DILEMMA

—King Milinda's Query to Sthavira Nagasena—
(Milindapanha : trans. Rhys Davids)

'Venerable Nagasena, this too was said by the Blessed One:

"A Brahman am I, O brethern, devoted to self-sacrifice".

'But on the other hand he declared:

"A king am I, Sela".

'If, Nagasena, the Blessed One were a Brahman, then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a king. But if he were a king, then he must have spoken falsely when he said he was a Brahman. He must have been either a Khattiya or a Brahman. For he could not have belonged, in the same birth, to two castes. This too is a double-edged problem, now put to you, which you have to solve'.

'Both the quotations you have made, O king, are correct. But there is good reason why the Tathagata should have been both Brahman and also king'.

'Pray what, Nagasena, can be that reason?'

'Because all evil qualities, not productive of merit, are in the Tathagata suppressed, abandoned, put away, dispelled, rooted out, destroyed, come to an end, gone out, and ceased, therefore is it that the Tathagata is called a Brahman. A

Brahman, O king, means one who has passed beyond hesitation, perplexity, and doubt. And it is because the Tathagata has done all this, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who has escaped from every sort and class of becoming, who is entirely set free from evil and from stain, who is dependent on himself, and it is because the Tathagata is all of these things, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who cultivates within himself the highest and best of the excellent and supreme conditions of heart. And it is because the Tathagata does this that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who carries on the line of the the tradition of the ancient instructions concerning the learning and the teaching of sacred writ, concerning the acceptance of gifts, concerning subjugation of the senses, self-control in conduct, and performance of duty. And it is because the Tathagata carries on the line of the tradition of the ancient rules enjoined by the Conquerors regarding all these things that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who enjoys the supreme bliss of the ecstatic meditation. And it is because the Tathagata does this, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. A Brahman, O king, means one who knows the course and revolution of births in all forms of existence. And it is because the Tathagata knows this, that therefore also is he called a Brahman. The appellation "Brahman", O king, was not given to the Blessed One by his mother, nor his father, not by his brother, nor his sister, not by his friends, nor his relations not by spiritual teachers of any sort, no, not by the gods. It is by reason of their emancipation that this is the name of the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones. From the moment when, under the Tree of Wisdom, they had overthrown the armies of the Evil One, had suppressed in themselves all evil qualities not productive of merit, and had attained to the knowledge of the Omniscient Ones, it was from the acquisition of this insight, the appearance in them of this enlightenment, that this true designation became applied to them,—the name of "Brahman". And that is the reason why the Tathagata is called a Brahman'.

'Then what is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king?'

'A king means, O king, one who rules and guides the world, and the Blessed One rules in righteousness over the ten thousand world systems, he guides the whole world with its men and gods, its evil spirits and its good ones, and its teachers. whether Samanas or Brahmans. That is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king means, O king, one who, exalted above all ordinary men, making those related to him rejoice, and those opposed to him mourn; raises aloft the sunshade of Sovranty, of pure and stainless white, with its handle of firm hard wood, and its many hundred ribs,—the symbol of his mighty fame and glory. And the Blessed One, O king making the army of the Evil One, those given over to false doctrine, mourn; filling the hearts of those, among gods or men, devoted to sound doctrine, with joy; raises aloft over the ten thousand world systems the Sunshade of his Sovranty, pure and stainless in the whiteness of emancipation, with its hundreds of ribs fashioned out of the highest wisdom, with its handle firm and strong through long suffering,—the symbol of his mighty fame and glory. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king is one who is held worthy of homage by the multitudes who appraoch him, who come into his presence. And the Blessed One, O king, is held worthy of homage by multitudes of beings, whether gods or men, who approach him, who come into his presence. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king is one who, when pleased with a strenuous servant, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him, at his own good pleasure, any costly gift the officer may choose. And the Blessed One, O king, when pleased with any one who has been strenuous in word or deed or thought, gladdens his heart by bestowing upon him, as a selected gift, the supreme deliverance from all sorrow,— far beyond all material gifts. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king is one who censures, fines, or executes the man who transgresses the royal commands. And so, O king, the man who, in shamelessness or discontent, trasnsgresses the command of the Blessed One, as laid down in the rules of his Order, that man, despised, disgraced and censured is expelled from the religion of the Conqueror. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king. A king is one who in is turn proclaiming

aws and regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the righteous kings of ancient times, and thus carrying on his rule in righteousness becomes beloved and dear to the people, desired in the world, and by the force of his righteousness establishes his dynasty long in the land. And the Blessed One, O king, proclaiming in his turn laws and regulations according to the instructions laid down in succession by the Buddhas of ancient times, and thus in righteousness being teacher of the world,— he too is beloved and dear to both gods and men, desired by them, and by the force of his righteousness he makes his religion last long in the land. That too is the reason why the Tathagata is called a king.

'Thus, O king, so many are the reasons why the Tathagata should be both Brahman and also king, that the ablest of the brethern could scarcely in an aeon enumerate them all. Why then should I dilate any further? Accept what I have said only in brief.'

'Very good, Nagasena! That is so, and I accept it as you say'.

Here ends the dilemma as to the Buddha belonging to two castes.

[Extracted from T.W. Rhys Davids: *The Questions of King Milinda* (Sacred Books of the East Series Oxford 1890-94). Recent reprints are from Motilal Banarsidass (Delhi) and Dover (New York).

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WHO IS THE BRAHMANA

—The Buddha's definition—

(Dhammapada: Brahmana Vagga, trans. Narada Maha Thera)

14. I do not call him a Brahmana, merely because he is born of a womb or sprung from a Brahmana mother. He is merely a "Dear addresser", if he is with impediments. He who is free from impediments, free from clinging,— him I call a Brahmana.

15. He who has cut off all fetters, he who trembles not, he who has gone beyond toils, he who is unbound,— him I call a Brahmana.

16. He who has cut the strap (hatred), the thong (craving), and the rope (heresies), together with the appendages (latent tendencies), he who has thrown up the cross-bar (ignorance), he who is enlightened (Buddha),—him I call a Brahmana.

17. He who, without anger, endures reproach, flogging and punishments, he whose power, the potent army, is patience,— him I call a Brahmana.

18. He who is not hateful but is dutiful, virtuous, free from craving, controlled, and bears his final body,— him I call a Brahmana.

19. Like water on a lotus leaf, like a mustard on the point of a needle, he who clings not to sensual pleasures,— him I call a Brahmana.

20. He who realises, here itself, the destruction of one's sorrow, he who has laid the burden aside and is emancipated,—him I call a Brahmana.

21. He whose knowledge is deep, he who is wise, he who is skilled in the right and wrong way, he who has reached the highest goal,—him I call a Brahmana.

22. He who is not intimate with both householders and homeless ones, he who wanders without an abode, he who is without desires,—him I call a Brahmana.

23. He who has laid aside the cudgel towards beings - whether feeble or strong,—he who neither kills nor causes to kill,—him I call a Brahmana.

24. He who is friendly amongst the hostile, he who is peaceful amongst the violent, he who is unattached amongst the attached,—him I call a Brahmana.

25. In whom lust, hatred, pride, detraction are fallen off, like a mustard seed from the point of a needle,—— him I call a Brahmana.

26. He who utters gentle, instructive, true words;
He who gives offence to
none;-
Him I call a Brahmana.

27. He who in this world takes
nothing that is not given,—
Be it long or short, small or
great, fair or foul;—
Him I call a Brahmana.

28. He who has no desires whether
of this world or of the next;
He who is desireless and eman-
cipated;—
Him I call a Brahmana.

29. He who has no longings, he who, through knowledge, is free from doubts, he who has plunged into the

Deathless (Nibbana), —him I call a Brahmana.

30. Herein he who has transcended both good and bad and the Toils as well; he who is sorrowless, stainless and pure;— him I call a Brahmana.

31. He who is spotless as the moon; he who is pure, serene, and clear; he who has destroyed craving for Becoming;—him I call a Brahmana.

32. He who has trangressed this quagmire, this difficult path, the ocean of life (Sansara), and delusion; he who has crossed and gone beyond; he who is meditative, free from craving and doubts; he who, clinging to nought, has attained Nibbana;—him I call a Brahmana.

33. He who, in this world, giving up sensual pleasures, would renounce and become a homeless one; he who has destroyed sense-desires and becoming; —him I call a Brahmana.

34. He who, in this world, giving up craving, would renounce and become a homeless one; he who has destroyed craving and Becoming;—him I call a Brahmana.

35. He who, discarding human bonds and transcending celestial ties, is completely delivered of all bonds, —him I call a Brahmana.

36. He who has given up likes and dislikes, he who is cooled, and is without defilments, he who has conquered the world and is strenuous;—him I call a Brahmana.

37. He who, in every way, knows the death and rebirth of beings, he who is detached, well-gone, and enlight ened,—him I call a Brahmana.

38. He whose destiny the Devas nor Gandhabbas nor men know not, he who has destroyed all Defilements, and is an Arahant,—him I call a Brahmana.

39. He who has no clinging to Aggregates that are past future, or present; he who is without clinging and grasping,—him I call a Brahmana.

40. The fearless, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the desireless, the washer of defilements, —him I call a Brahmana.

41. He who knows his former abodes, he who sees heaven and hell, he who has reached the end of births, he who, with superior wisdom has perfected himself as a Holy Man, he who has finished all finishings, —him I call a Brahmana.

[Extracted from Narada Maha Thera: *Dhammapada* (Mahabodhi Society of India, Calcutta 1962).
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"The invariably honorific use which Gotama makes of the title Brahman" leads Jennings to conclude "that Buddhism takes for granted certain Vedic or Vedantic postulates". (*The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha*, London 1949, p. 573). Without subscribing to this extreme view, one must consider "the invariably honorific use of the title Brahman" in mundane milieu. It is clear that the Buddha was not against the concept of Brahmana as the ideal man and emphasized the Kshatriya's entitlement to be the ideal man notwithstanding his occupation. NCS

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In 1965 the author wrote an Introduction to our reprint of *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* the classic work of Sarat Chandra Das. In 1967 we published a selection of the author's papers under the title *Tibet: Considerations on Inner Asian History*. The author is presently engaged in a work on Modern India's relations with Sino-Indian Asia, that is, the countries where Sinic and Indic traditions co-exist.

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